



**Plurilingual students' English proficiency**  
**A study of Danish elementary school students' L3 proficiency**

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UNIVERSITY COLLEGE COPENHAGEN &

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES  
UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN



# PhD Thesis

Rawand Samal Jalal

Plurilingual students' English proficiency  
- A study of Danish elementary school  
students' L3 proficiency

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**proficiency**

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**PhD Thesis**

**University College Copenhagen**

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## Abstract

Research in various cultural contexts has demonstrated that bilingualism has a positive effect on both students' general cognitive abilities and their L3 proficiency; in particular if the learner has L1 literacy skills. However, national test data suggest that bilinguals with minority language background, in Denmark, on the other hand, perform worse academically relative to their monolingual peers, especially with regard to English proficiency. The current study conducted in Denmark investigated English proficiency among plurilingual students compared to their monolingual peers and whether a correlation exists between the plurilinguals' proficiency level in their three languages. In addition, the study examined whether L1 literacy skills contributed to more advanced L3 proficiency; and finally, whether there were signs of plurilingual students using translanguaging as a learning strategy during English classes and whether this usage of translanguaging was connected to the proficiency level in their three languages. The sample was comprised of 232 ninth graders who were monolinguals ( $n = 85$ ) or plurilinguals ( $n = 147$ ); of the latter group a subgroup consisted of plurilinguals with Turkish L1 ( $n = 34$ ). All participants provided basic demographic data as well as information about their language use. Subsequently, all students were tested in their general English proficiency. The statistical analyses showed that monolingual students overall performed better than the plurilingual group, as well as compared to the subgroup (plurilinguals with Turkish L1), on the English proficiency test. In addition, the results showed that the monolinguals scored significantly higher than the biliterate plurilinguals, and that the latter group scored slightly lower than non-literate plurilinguals. Moreover, significant correlates of the English test included SES, motivation, academic achievement, and receptive exposure to the English language. In order to explore these results in further depth, a sub-study was conducted; here the objective was to examine plurilingual students with varying degrees of English proficiency skills in order to comprehend their English proficiency. A total of 12 participants (with *low*, *intermediate* and *high* scores) out of the 34 individuals with Turkish L1 were selected for further assessment and qualitative analysis. These 12 students were tested in their L1 (Turkish) and L2 (Danish) skills. They were interviewed in Danish; their Turkish communicative competences were assessed; their English reading comprehension was assessed orally; the students with low English scores were assessed in their English communicative competence skills; and finally, all 12 participants were observed during English class in a period of 1.5-2 months each. The results did not reveal a correlation between the students' English scores and their scores on the Turkish and Danish tests. Moreover, the results revealed signs of translanguaging in English class among the

majority of the 12 students; the results showed that the students with strong Turkish proficiency skills utilized their Turkish as a resource in English class, while those with low Turkish skills utilized Danish as a resource. The assessments overall along with the interviews and observations in class, pointed to a high degree of complexity vis-à-vis English proficiency among plurilingual students. Indeed, the results indicate that individual participants should be considered separately in order to better comprehend their level of English proficiency, but also that the results cannot be explained exclusively based on student background. Teachers and their pedagogy play an important role for the students' English.

## **Resumé**

Internationalt har adskillige studier påvist, at tosprogethed har en positiv effekt på såvel elevernes generelle kognitive formåen som på deres kundskaber i et tredjesprog; dette gælder i særdeleshed, hvis eleverne har læsekundskaber i deres L1. I Danmark ser billedet anderledes ud; her er der en tendens til, at flersprogede med minoritetssprog som L1, klarer sig signifikant dårligere i uddannelsessystemet, sammenlignet med deres jævnaldrende med majoritetssprog som L1. Nærværende projekt har undersøgt flersprogede elevers engelskfærdighed i forhold til deres etsprogede klassekammeraters samt om der er sammenhæng imellem de flersprogede elevers kompetencer i deres tre sprog; derudover blev det undersøgt om læsekundskaber i de flersprogedes L1 bidrog til et mere avanceret engelsk som L3. Endelig blev det undersøgt om der var tegn på brugen af translanguaging som en læringsstrategi i engelskundervisningen blandt de flersprogede og om dette var forbundet med deres kompetenceniveau i deres tre sprog. Informanterne var 232 niendeklasses elever hvoraf 85 var etsprogede og 147 flersprogede; af sidstnævnte gruppe bestod en undergruppe af 34 flersprogede med tyrkisk L1. Alle informanter bidrog med demografiske data samt oplysninger om deres sprogbrug; derefter blev alle elever testet i deres generelle engelskfærdighed. Den statistiske analyse viste, at de etsprogede elever scorede betydeligt højere end den flersprogede gruppe som helhed, samt i forhold til undergruppen (flersprogede med tyrkisk L1) i engelsktesten. Desuden viste resultaterne, at de etsprogede scorede betydeligt højere end de flersprogede med læsekompetencer på deres L1, samt at den sidstnævnte gruppe scorede en anelse lavere end den flersprogede gruppe uden læsefærdigheder på L1. Endvidere viste analysen, at variabler som socioøkonomisk status, motivation, akademisk præstation og receptiv eksponering for det engelske sprog korrelerede med engelsktesten. For at forstå resultaterne i dybden blev der udført

et understudie, hvor formålet var at undersøge flersprogede elever med forskellige engelskkundskaber. Således blev 12 deltagere (med *lave*, *mellemliggende* og *høje* scorere) ud af de 34 med tyrkisk L1 valgt til yderligere undersøgelse; disse 12 studerende blev testet i deres L1 (tyrkisk) og L2 (dansk) færdigheder; de blev interviewet på dansk, deres tyrkiske kommunikative kompetencer blev vurderet, deres engelske læseforståelse blev vurderet mundtligt; eleverne med lav engelskscore blev vurderet i deres engelsk kommunikative kompetencer, og endelig blev alle 12 observeret hver især i engelsktimerne i en periode på 1,5-2 måneder. Resultaterne viste ingen sammenhæng imellem elevernes engelskscore og deres score i tyrkisk- og dansktesten. Endelig viste resultaterne tegn på translanguaging blandt de fleste af de 12 elever; her viste resultaterne, at eleverne med stærke tyrkiske færdigheder udnyttede deres tyrkiske som en ressource i engelsk undervisningen, mens de med lav tyrkiskkompetencer udnyttede dansk som ressource. Den videre analyse af eleverne via tests, interviews og observationer i klassen peger alle i retningen af en høj kompleksitet i forståelsen af deres engelskfærdigheder. Resultaterne indikerer, at de individuelle informanter skal overvejes separat, for bedre at forstå deres engelskniveau, men også at resultaterne ikke udelukkende kan forklares på baggrund af de studerendes baggrund; lærere og deres pædagogiske praksis spiller ligeledes en central rolle.

## Chapter 1. Introduction

The world today is more multicultural than ever (Kalman, 2009). This new reality has shaped language use all over the world. Such multiculturalism is the inevitable result of globalization, as well as economic crises, famine and civil wars. Indeed, the number of people who have relocated or fled their home countries has increased in recent years, in turn influencing the demographical state of countries around the globe<sup>1</sup>.

There is a common misconception that the majority of the world's population are monolinguals. But this is not the case. To the contrary, there is a strong indication that bilinguals and plurilinguals have outnumbered monolinguals throughout the world (Cruz-Ferreira, 2010; Tucker, 2018). For instance, in Europe more than half of the population claim to speak at least one language besides their mother tongue (European Commission, 2006<sup>2</sup>).

Notably, there is a greater portion of children worldwide, whose formal education (at least in part) is conducted via a second or a later-acquired language, relative to those who are educated solely via their first language (Tucker, 2018). In light of all this, the interest in bilingualism and plurilingualism and its effect on cognitive growth and third language proficiency has increased over the years.

Some researchers have argued that *monolingualism is taken as the hallmark of linguistic, cognitive and social excellence and, conversely, plurilingualism as the probable cause of various disabilities* (Cruz-Ferreira, 2010:50). However, the early misconception of bilingual or plurilingual inferiority has been challenged with findings demonstrating bilingual superiority on numerous cognitive measures (Bialystok, 1987, 1991; Cummins, 1978; Thomas, 1992; Baker, 2001; Moore, 2006; Ransdell, Barbier & Niit 2006; Jessner, 2008; Cenoz, 2013; Bialystok et al., 2013; Marton et al., 2017). Moreover, they have also found to be superior in their L3<sup>3</sup> proficiency (Lasagabaster, 1997;

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<sup>1</sup> UN, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division:

<http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/estimates2/estimates15.shtml>

<sup>2</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs\\_243\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs_243_en.pdf)

<sup>3</sup> L1 stands for *language one* or *first language*; some equate it to *mother tongue*, *home language* or even *heritage language*. In the current study the terms *L1*, *first language* and *mother tongue* will be used as a reference to the first language an individual has acquired. L2 refers to Danish, and L3 to English. The students in my study are referred to as plurilingual students (see chapter 2 for this choice of terminology), but both bilingualism and plurilingualism are used when referring to the general field of research.

Sanz, 2000, Cenoz, 2003). This is particularly the case if the learners have acquired literacy skills in their L1 (e.g. Thomas, 1988; Swain et al., 1990; Sanz, 2000).

The findings in the literature that bilingualism promotes cognitive growth, however, are not reflected in the Danish context. The general finding seems to be that bilinguals with minority language background display significantly poorer results in school compared to their monolingual peers with majority language background (Danish)<sup>4</sup>.

Although, these results stem from several PISA<sup>5</sup> evaluations, and not actual research studies, the socio-cultural situation of bilinguals in Denmark, as well as the pedagogical practice in mainstream schools, might help explain these findings (Holmen & Ginman, 2006; Holmen, 2009).

Indeed, it is highly conceivable that students with minority language background are not able to fully utilize their linguistic resources due, in part, to current pedagogical practices in Denmark. In contrast, a country such as Canada – considered multicultural, having received countless of refugees and immigrants over the years – is focused on more accommodating pedagogical strategies in order to better utilize minority students' linguistic resources in academic contexts (Cummins, 2014). These strategies resemble the pedagogical tool, translanguaging, which emphasizes the importance of students utilizing all of their linguistic repertory of skills as a resource in language learning classes.

Nonetheless, given that results vis-à-vis Danish bilinguals' proficiency skills are not based on empirical research, it is critical to examine the field – collect relevant data – before any conclusions can be drawn.

For this reason, I will carry out an investigation which aims to initially examine English proficiency skills among plurilingual students compared to their monolingual peers; and to explore whether a correlation exists between the plurilinguals' three languages. It will additionally examine whether literacy skills in the plurilingual learner's L1 has an impact on third language proficiency; this is relevant given the body of research stressing the importance of L1 literacy in order for the plurilingual to experience such proficiency. Finally, a goal of this project is to examine whether there are signs of the usage of translanguaging (utilizing all linguistic repertory of skills) as a

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<sup>4</sup> <https://uvm.dk/internationalt-arbejde/internationale-undersogelser/pisa/pisa-2009>

<sup>5</sup> The OECD Programme for International Student Assessment

learning strategy amongst the plurilinguals in English class and whether this usage is connected to their level of proficiency in their three languages.

In this regard, the key research questions of this investigation are the following:

*1a) What is the level and composition of plurilingual students' English proficiency skills compared to their monolingual peers'?*

*1b) Is there a correlation between the plurilinguals' proficiency level in their three languages?*

*2) Is third language learning enhanced through literacy in one's first language?*

*3a) Are there signs of the plurilingual students utilizing translanguageing in the English classroom?*

*3b) Is the plurilinguals' use of translanguageing connected to their level of proficiency in their three languages?*

This thesis is organized in the following way:

**Chapter 2:** The first chapter of the theoretical background will deal with the framework of third language acquisition. In this regard, the chapter will be focusing on the labels used to characterize different groups of learners according to language background and by focusing on the conceptualization of language(s) and language proficiency entailed in the terminology.

**Chapter 3:** In my study, two fields – second language acquisition (SLA)/language acquisition and plurilingualism/bilingualism – will be studied and combined as one approach to understand the acquisition of English as a third language by plurilinguals. Hence, both fields will be covered in this thesis. This chapter will start by introducing second language acquisition and the connected concepts; here we will look at some theories related to how L2 is most effectively acquired. In relation to this, we will look into communicative competence and how a number of skills are of importance for the learner to have attained in order to achieve effective communication in the learners' L2. Hereunder, we will deal with learning strategies which are significant elements in



language learning. In the final part of the chapter, we will examine the contextual and individual factors which affect language acquisition.

**Chapter 4:** It is pivotal for this study to shed some light on the effect of (multi– and) bilingualism on cognitive development; given that the consequence of bilingualism on third language acquisition is linked to the effect of bilingualism on cognition. In this regard, in this chapter we will explore the effect of bilingualism on cognitive growth; we will examine a number of studies conducted in the area of bilingualism and its relationship to intelligence.

Subsequently, we will look at later studies in the field of bilingualism which criticized the earlier studies for methodological issues and stressed the importance of employing *balanced-bilinguals* in such research.

Next, we will examine how the socio-cultural and socio-linguistic factors of multi- and bilingualism may affect the learners' cognition and language proficiency. Here we will start by examining how different languages have different social value, depending on the context in which they are utilized. In this regard, we will look at the hierarchal division of languages in Denmark – with the immigrant languages at the bottom which ultimately may affect the plurilinguals in various ways.

This will lead us to examine two forms of bilingualism, namely *additive bilingualism* and *subtractive bilingualism*. These two forms of bilingualism are linked to the positive and negative implications of bilingualism depending on the social status of the bilingual's first language.

In the final section of this chapter, we will examine how levels of proficiency in the bilinguals' two languages relate to their cognitive development and proficiency in their L3; i.e., referred to as the *threshold hypothesis*.

Ultimately, the literature reviewed in this chapter (i.e., theoretical framework) regarding specific factors affecting cognitive growth and third language proficiency of bilinguals will lay the foundation for my own study (i.e., will be applied to my research participants).

**Chapter 5:** Given that one of the aims of this thesis is to examine plurilinguals' proficiency in English as their L3 compared to their monolingual peers' English as their L2, it is crucial to explore research studies conducted in this area. In light of this, we will look at studies on the consequences of bilingualism on third language acquisition in this chapter. Additionally, we will see how literacy skills in the learners' first language may contribute to more proficient L3 skills.

In the final part of this chapter, we will explore how the educational system and the pedagogical practices – deployed in schools – might influence plurilingual students on a number of parameters. In this respect, we will explore a more inclusive and holistic approach to language teaching methodology which may assist the plurilingual students, namely *translanguaging*.

**Chapter 6:** Preceding my own investigation, in the present chapter research in the area of bilingualism and its effect on third language proficiency in the context of Denmark will be explored.

**Chapter 7:** This chapter reports on the findings of my quantitative and qualitative study, which investigate plurilingual students' English proficiency in the context of Denmark. No such research has been carried out previously. There is a long line of research on the schooling of bilingual children in Denmark and on the sociolinguistics of polylinguaging of immigrant children, and there is another body of research on foreign language learning; but these two research areas have not been combined. This combination and its focus on third language learning in a Danish foreign language context makes this study a unique contribution to the field in question.

**Chapter 8:** In this chapter, the results of the thesis will be discussed as well as limitations and research implications.

**Chapter 9:** This chapter forms the conclusion of the thesis.

## Chapter 2. Framework of third language acquisition

In the current empirical investigation, I explore third language acquisition amongst a group of students who are bilinguals (i.e., they use two or more languages in their daily lives) and those who are acquiring English as their third language. In my study, the students' bilingual background is an important dimension. I shall therefore draw on theoretical discussions from the field of bilingualism and the related fields of multi-/and plurilingualism and combine these with insight into language acquisition.

Thus, in the following chapter, we will approach the framework of L3 acquisition by focusing on the labels used to characterize different groups of learners according to language background and by focusing on the conceptualization of language(s) and language proficiency entailed in the terminology.

While the term “bilingual” (or “bilingualism”) traditionally refers to an individual who has acquired two languages at an early age, it is fairly loaded in the context of Denmark. Here bilingual is referred to as “*tosproget*” which literally means having two languages. Notably, the Danish term is restricted to children with sequential bilingualism<sup>6</sup>, that is, children who do not meet their L2 until kindergarten or school. In addition, the term has historically been even more restricted in its meaning; i.e., referring to children from minority language backgrounds and associated with integration issues, including ghetto issues etc. Thus, the term does not have the implied/literal meaning of “having two languages” but rather “being negatively held down by your minority background” (Kristjánsdóttir & Timm, 2018).

In an international/global context, an individual who speaks two languages is referred to as “bilingual”, “multilingual”, “plurilingual”, “language minority student”, “heritage language student” and the list goes on. These various usages impact the literature which I will draw upon given that researchers use diverse terminologies; as such, I will provide definitions of the terms used in this dissertation.

Interestingly, Baker (2006:4) specifically distinguishes between two types of “individual bilingualism”; that is, “simultaneous” or “infant bilingualism” – which refers to children who learn two languages from birth – and “consecutive” or “sequential” bilingualism referring to children who learn a second language after around age three. Baker (2006) refers to sequential acquisition of

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<sup>6</sup> This will be explained below.

bilingualism as *the situation where a child or adult acquires a first language, and later becomes proficient in the second language and sometimes further languages* (Baker, 2006:120). This corresponds to what Garcia (2009) labels “emergent bilinguals”. Given the status and expansion of the English language globally – and in European countries particularly – it is debatable whether the many people with majority language background who acquire English at a relatively high level could be categorized as bilinguals. However, for the purpose of this study, focusing on young learners in traditional monolingual (Danish) schools, it is preferable to restrict the use of the term “bilingual” to students who claim to know one or more language(s) learned at home. Moreover, it is debatable when a bilingual has one mother tongue or indeed several. This is particularly the case for simultaneous or infant bilinguals who might have been subject to an equal amount of exposure to their L1 and L2 at home. In such cases, it may not always be clear-cut what in fact constitutes their L1 and their L2; it could even be argued that they have two L1s.

As briefly discussed in the introduction (chapter 1), people who speak more than one language (bilinguals and plurilinguals) have outnumbered those who speak only one (monolinguals) on global scale (Cruz-Ferreira, 2010; Tucker, 2018). Yet notably, the boundary between being a *monolingual* and *bi-/plurilingual* is being heavily contested by many educationalists (e.g. Garcia, 2009).

The most common definition of “monolingual/monolingualism” refers to *a person or society speaking only one language*<sup>7</sup>; however, seeing that the majority of people worldwide speak more than one language it is essential to discuss when a learner may be regarded as bilingual or plurilingual after acquiring his or her additional language(s). Importantly, the perception of individuals with more than one language appears to depend on the languages in question. For instance, in a Danish setting the term “bilingual” – which as noted has a negative connotation – is primarily applied when referring to a person whose mother tongue is a so-called “immigrant language”.

In the context of Denmark, Daryai-Hansen (2010) presents a hierarchy existing amongst the various languages in the Danish ministerial discourse<sup>8</sup>; in rules and regulations languages are divided into three groups: (1) Danish and English are listed at the top, (2) “other foreign languages” (i.e.

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<sup>7</sup> <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/monolingual>

<sup>8</sup> More on “immigrant languages” and the Danish discourse in section 4.4. “Cultural value of languages”

languages traditionally taught as foreign languages in primary school) are listed next, and in the bottom (3) the “immigrant languages”.

In her analysis of the Danish discourse, Daryai-Hansen (2010) found that besides Danish and English only the following languages are mentioned in more than 1% of the discourse elements<sup>9</sup>: Norwegian, Swedish, French, German, Latin and Ancient-Greek; these are categorized as “the other foreign languages”. In contrast, “immigrant languages” are completely ignored. According to Daryai-Hansen’s (2010) analysis of the Danish discourse, the immigrant languages are listed at the bottom because they are considered non-Danish and non-foreign – but illegitimate. They are not taught as subjects within specific curriculums, but some of them are brought into schools through language support activities and occasionally offered as mother tongue tuition.

Internationally, the languages regarded as immigrant languages can vary according to the particular country and its unique discourse. However, there are striking similarities when comparing for instance many European countries and their perception of what immigrant languages are. Crucially, it is not without implication whether a bilingual/plurilingual’s mother tongue is seen as an immigrant language or not; i.e., as we will see in the following chapters on L3 acquisition and the effects of bilingualism on cognitive development.

Nonetheless, the Danish ministerial discourse consider languages as separate entities which somewhat aligns with “The English Oxford living dictionary’s” definition of “language“ as the method of human communication, either spoken or written, consisting of the use of words in a structured and conventional way. This is indeed the way the majority of people would probably perceive language, namely as that which we utter, hear, read or write in our daily lives. In addition, most people are aware of the existence of distinct languages, and that we speak, read and write in different tongues; for example, Chinese, English, Spanish and Turkish etc. However, the reality is that the definition of what constitutes a language is much more complex. For instance, although the common belief might be that linguists perceive language as an abstract system, far from all linguists agree on how language is conceptualized.

It is part of the language hierarchy which Daryai-Hansen describes that languages are kept separate as distinguishable entities, characterized by vocabulary and grammatical and phonological rules. However, this traditional linguistic understanding of language has been challenged from

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<sup>9</sup> 1,949 Danish discourse or textual elements were analysed

sociolinguistic perspectives vis-à-vis situational language use. Here the focus is not so much on rule-based mastery of a given language, but more on communicative practices to make meaning and understand the world. Seen from this perspective, language use is also important to support and negotiate the social identity of the speakers.

Garcia and Wei (2014) refer to the Chilean biologists, Humberto Maturana and Francisco Verela's (1973 as cited in Garcia and Wei, 2014) theory of *autopoiesis* which argues that people's biological and social history of actions are inseparable from the way in which they grasp the world. The researchers' view on biological life – posited in their autopoiesis – leads to their observations of language:

It is by languaging that the act of knowing, in the behavioural coordination which is language, brings forth a world. We work out our lives in a mutual linguistic coupling, not because language permits us to reveal ourselves but because we are constituted in language in a continuous becoming that we bring forth with others (1998; 234-235 as cited in Garcia and Wei, 2014:8).

In light of this quotation, Garcia and Wei (2014) note that language should not merely be perceived as a simple system of structures inseparable from human interaction. They further argue that the term *languaging* is essential when referring to *the simultaneous process of continuous becoming of ourselves and of our language practices, as we interact and make meaning in the world* (Garcia and Wei, 2014:8). In regard to this particular view on language and language practise, we will later look at the concept of *translanguaging* which likewise does not view languages as separate codes/systems<sup>10</sup>.

Garcia and Wei's definition mirrors The European Council's view on individuals who speaks multiple languages (plurilinguals); The European Council *distinguishes between **multilingualism** (the coexistence of different languages at societal or group level) and **plurilingualism** (the dynamic and developing linguistic repertoire of an individual user/learner)* (The Council of Europe, 2018:28). Hence, *multilingual* is used when referring to the language use of members of a group who function in more than one language, whereas the term *plurilingual* refers to the language proficiency of individuals who have more than one language. Moreover, the Council of Europe presents plurilingualism *as an uneven and changing competence, in which the user/learner's resources in one language or variety may be very different in nature to those in another* (The Council of Europe, 2018:28). To this they add that a key point is that plurilinguals *have a single,*

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<sup>10</sup> See more on translanguaging in section 5.5.

*inter-related, repertoire that they combine with their general competences and various strategies in order to accomplish tasks* (The Council of Europe, 2018:28).

It should be noted that in a broader international context, the term “multilingual” is often used as equivalent to the European definition of “plurilingual”. Some of the studies which I refer to later on do not make the distinction between multilingualism and plurilingualism.

Hence, in light of the above, I have decided not to use the term bilingual when referring to the participants in my study, but instead the conventional European term *plurilingual*<sup>11</sup> – i.e., in order to avoid any negative connotations (e.g., in a Danish context).

## **2.1. Summarizing the chapter**

We have now briefly discussed some essential terms which will be used in this dissertation; we have looked into the notion of having acquired one or more languages and the suitable labelling of such individuals in question. In extension to this, we touched upon how one’s language background impacts the way one is perceived and how the languages of immigrants lack social status in Denmark; we will later discuss how this may have negative implications for the learners’ cognitive development. Moreover, we have discussed the concept of *language* and seen that no one definition exists, but rather a multiplicity of definitions depending on the perceiver.

For instance, we discussed how Garcia and Wei’s (2014) definition differs significantly from that of the “traditional” linguists’; although the latter do not agree entirely either with the conventionalization of the term – viewing language more as an abstract system of signs. Nevertheless, Garcia and Wei (2014) argue that language is far from a fixed entity but rather a tool for meaning making and identity negotiation.

In my study, two fields of research are relevant to explore: *second language acquisition* (*SLA*)/*language acquisition* and *bilingualism*; which are distinct areas, for instance, with separate journal outlets and conferences etc. but, nonetheless, with some minor overlap. Nevertheless, in the following theoretical chapter and in my empirical study, the two fields will be combined and utilized as one overall approach to understand the acquisition of English as a third language by bilinguals.

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<sup>11</sup> In chapter 8 (Discussion) the term “plurilinguals” will be discussed in terms of the participants in my study.

## Chapter 3. The complexity behind third language acquisition

Language acquisition is a highly complex process with many intervening factors; thus, in this chapter we will look at the complexity behind language acquisition. We will initially examine second language acquisition and the connected concepts; here we will explore some theories concerning how L2 is most adequately acquired. In this regard, we will look at communicative competence and how a number of skills are essential for the learner to master in order to reach effective communication ability in the learners' L2. Hereunder, we will be dealing with learning strategies which are an important element in language learning.

In the final part of this chapter, we will examine the contextual and individual factors which affect language acquisition.

### 3.1. Second language acquisition

According to Johnson, two obvious kinds of language acquisition exist: *The first is L1 acquisition, which every normal child manages at an early age. The second is FL acquisition, where someone, child or adult, picks up a language, for example while they are living in a target language country* (Johnson, 2017: 73).

In 1965, the linguist, Noam Chomsky proposed that all people are born with a Language Acquisition Device (LAD), that is, innate neurological wiring that aids a young child to decode the intricate rules of language (Escamilla & Grassi, 2000; Johnson, 2017). The LAD permits the child to comprehend utterances that he or she has not hitherto heard. Hence, the theory posits, that children acquire their L1 *with no direct instruction, no practice, no drills and with no apparent difficulty* (Escamilla & Grassi, 2000:1). According to Chomsky, the LAD predisposes all people – regardless of language – to acquire their L2 in more or less the same fashion so long as they are provided with the correct input. While L1 acquisition happens fairly automatically, and most people do not remember the process of learning their L1, learning a L2 does not occur automatically for many children and may, in fact, appear rather difficult for many.

Johnson (2017) presents three important concepts related to different theories of foreign language (FL)/second language acquisition:



- Input
- Output
- Interaction

Krashen (1981) developed the input hypothesis which states *that we acquire (...) language by understanding input that is a little beyond our current level of (acquired) competence* (Krashen & Terrell, 1983:32). Thus, acquisition takes place when the learners are exposed to language (unknown items) that are only a bit beyond their current level; here the idea is that context and - for instance - gestures (pointing at things) will aid in the comprehension of the unknown parts for the learner. The input hypothesis also draws on the general observation that exposure to the target language and, thus, input is necessary for language learning to take place. As we shall see later, differences in amount and type of exposure to e.g. English may be one of the variables used to investigate different language proficiency levels.

Turning to the output hypothesis and its role in L2/FL acquisition, Krashen's input hypothesis almost completely denies that language is acquired through output (production by the learner) (Johnson, 2017). Krashen holds that language acquisition occurs when the learner hears or sees language and hence, output is an evidence that language acquisition has occurred and not part of the acquisition process per se.

Swain (1995) on the other hand, postulated the output hypothesis in the 1990's, proposing that *the importance to learning of output could be that output pushes learners to process language more deeply (with more mental effort) than does input* (1995:26).

Long (1983) takes the input hypothesis a step further; in his interaction hypothesis, he argues that in order for the learner to benefit from the given input (comprehensible input), interaction must have taken place. Hence, he holds that it is in the interaction and the ensuing negotiation of meaning that language acquisition takes place.

Now turning to a relevant question regarding language learning: *what exactly is involved in learning a foreign language? What kind of 'knowledge' and 'skill' need to be mastered?* (Johnson, 2017:15). To answer these questions, several frameworks have been presented by various experts to describe what has been categorized as *communicative competence*.

For instance, Canale and Swain (1980) developed a model of communicative competence comprising the components: *grammatical*, *sociolinguistic* and *strategic* skills. Johnson's (2017)

draws on Canale and Swain's (1980) model, but with a change in terminology using *systemic competence* rather than *grammatical competence*.

Færch et al.'s (1984) main competences in their communication model are: *linguistic, pragmatic, strategic* and *fluency*. Hedge (2017) operates with five components of skills in her model of communicative competence, namely *linguistic, pragmatic, discourse, strategic* and *fluency*.

Although the terminology differs in addition to the grouping of the skills, the models are more or less equivalent.

The first competence: the grammatical/systemic or linguistic competence concerns the knowledge of the language itself; in other words, its form and meaning (Hedge, 2017). *Linguistic competence involves a knowledge of spelling, pronunciation, vocabulary, word formation, grammatical structure, sentence structure and linguistic semantics* (Hedge, 2018: 47).

However, mastering the form of a language is far from sufficient in order to communicate in a second or foreign language, according to the model of communicative competence.

Knowledge of the social context, knowing in which manner to use language to achieve certain goals, *knowledge of conversational use: how to perform the conversation, and how to develop the topic* (Hedge, 2018:51) is just as vital a competence in communication.

Another component included in Færch et al.'s (1984) and Hedge's (2017) models, is fluency. This competence refers to the learners' ability *to link units of speech together with facility and without strain or inappropriate slowness, or undue hesitation* (Hedge, 2017:54).

Canale and Swain's (1980) third component of their communicative competence model is strategic competence. They describe this component as *verbal and non-verbal communication strategies that may be called into action to compensate for breakdowns in communication* (Canale & Swain 1980: 30 as cited in Johnson, 2017:36). Johnson (2017) argues that this competence is crucial for the second/foreign language learner to develop seeing that breakdowns in communication is very likely to happen when struggling to get messages across with limited linguistic resources. *They compensate for this either by changing their original intention or by searching for other means of expression* (Hedge, 2017:52).

Another type of strategy that in many cases resembles the above mentioned communication strategies involves learning strategies.

### 3.1.1. Learning strategies

Rebecca L. Oxford (1990) defines learning strategies as *specific actions taken by the learner to make learning easier, faster, more enjoyable, more self-directed, more effective, and more transferable to new situations* (Oxford, 1990:8). However, this definition might seem oversimplified, and as Dörnyei (2005) puts it, *learning strategies are immensely ambiguous phenomena and nothing is clear-cut about them* (Dörnyei, 2005:162). For instances, it may seem difficult to discriminate learning strategies from communication strategies given that communication strategies might also be learning strategies. This is for instance seen in an example where a learner habitually asks people he is talking with to explain words he does not understand (Hawkins, 1998 as cited in Johnson 2017). This is a classic example of a communication strategy where a learner attempts to overcome a communication breakdown by asking for clarification of a word, meanwhile, it can also be interpreted as a learning strategy, given that it may be a method whereby the learner learns new words.

Johnson (2017) draws the attention to another point – which applied linguists often disagree on – vis-à-vis the definition of learning strategies; namely, whether the word “strategy” may be restricted to conscious actions, and given the fact that learners might do things without being fully aware, the word “processes” may be more appropriate to some. Here a concern would be how to teach something that occurs on a less conscious level.

Interestingly, Oxford (1990) has developed a classification of learning strategies that has become widely known; below is a visualization of her taxonomy of learning strategies.

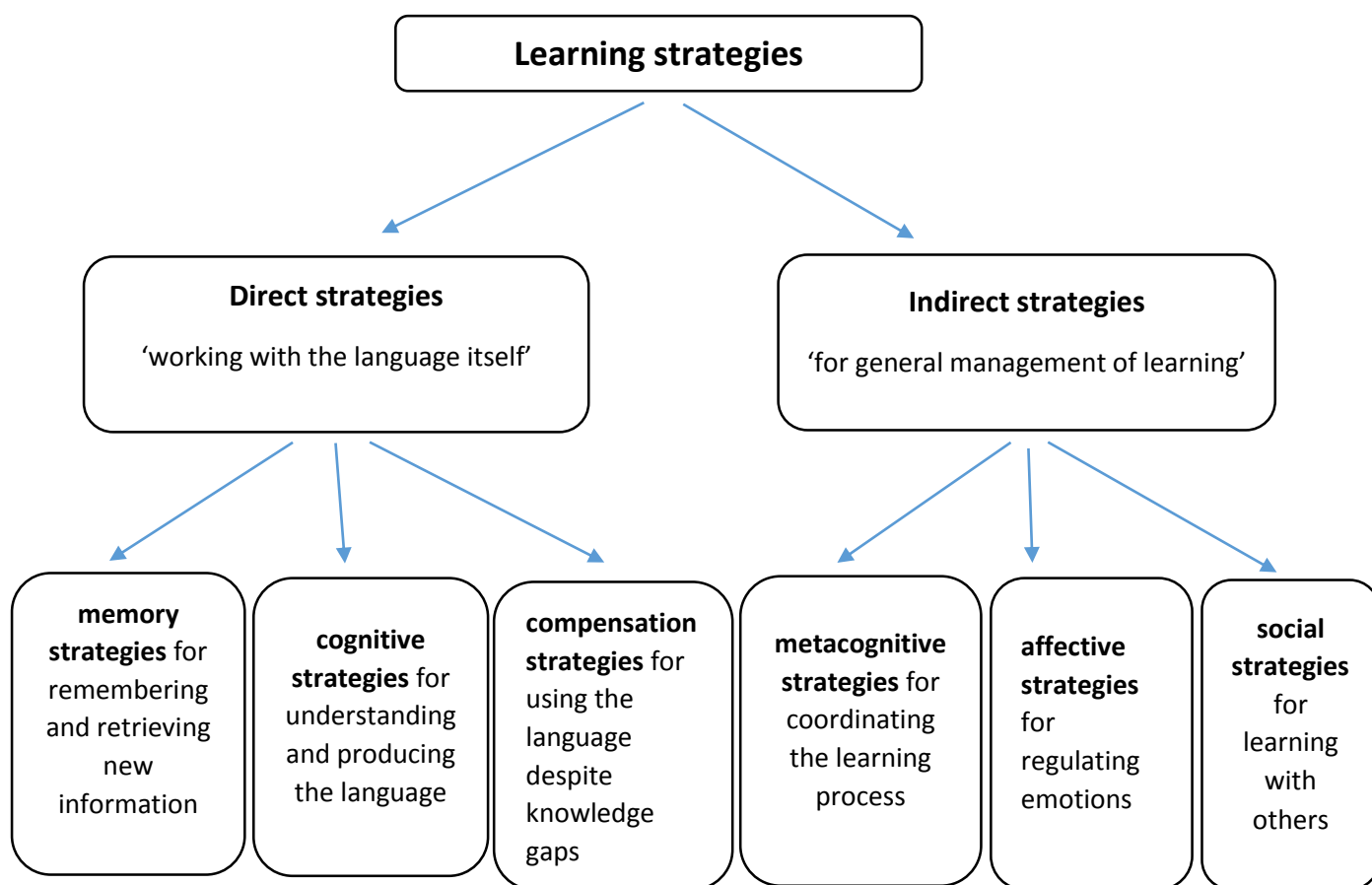


Figure 1. A visualization of Oxford's strategy system (Oxford, 1990: 14–16)

As seen from the figure above, Oxford (1990) distinguishes between *direct* and *indirect* strategies. In her book *Language Learning Strategies* (1990) she explains the differences using a comparison from the theatre. Oxford (1990) suggests that the learner using direct strategies is similar to an actor in a play, since one of the main jobs of an actor is to come to grips with the play; just as the language learner's utilization of direct strategies facilitates him or her to come to grips with the language. This is for instance done through acquiring knowledge of new rules of grammar or memorization of novel vocabulary. When the learner utilizes indirect strategies, his or her role may resemble that of a director of a play whose main role would be to regulate and control things. As for the language learner this could include planning – for example how to prepare for each lesson and how much time to spend on learning – along with affective and social strategies which would include motivating yourself, lowering your anxiety, as well as asking questions and cooperating with others (Oxford, 1990; Johnson, 2017).

O'Malley and Chamot (1990) have also developed a classificatory system of learning strategies and although it differs from Oxford's (1990), the two models have one element in common; that is, *metacognitive strategies* which include *thinking about the learning process, planning for learning, monitoring the learning task and evaluating how well one has learned* (O'Malley and Chamot, 1990:137). O'Malley and Chamot (1990) provide some examples of metacognitive strategies:

Direct attention: Deciding in advance to attend in general to a learning task and to ignore irrelevant distractors; maintaining attention during task execution.

Self-management: Understanding the conditions that help one successfully accomplish language tasks and arranging for the presence of those conditions; controlling one's language performance to maximize use of what is already known.

Problem identification: Explicitly identifying the central point needing resolution in a task or identifying an aspect of the task that hinders its successful completion (O'Malley and Chamot, 1990:137).

Learning strategies, in particular metacognitive strategies, appear to be of great importance for proper language learning. According to Goh (1998) (as cited in Johnson, 2017) learners with high levels of metacognitive awareness appear to be superior in terms of control and management of their learning; including comprehending and storing new information in addition to reaching the most effective method to train and reinforce what they have learned. Nonetheless, Dörnyei's (2005) postulation about nothing being *clear-cut about learning strategies*, should be kept in mind due to the fact that evidence of the efficacy of learning strategies for language learning is not *clear-cut* (Johnson, 2017:141). For instance, O'Malley and Chamot (1990) conducted a study where they examined what learning strategies learners at different levels were utilizing. They found that efficient learners made use of a great diversity of strategies which aided them in finishing the language tasks favourably. Conversely, the less efficient learners displayed fewer types of strategies in their repertoires in addition to often utilizing inappropriate strategies when completing the tasks.

Chen (1990), on the other hand, found in a study that the more proficient learners used fewer strategies. The conclusion drawn here is that while the more proficient learners go straight for the correct strategies, the less proficient learners use trial and error and thus, utilize more strategies to complete the tasks.

Johnson (2017) attempts to explain why there is nothing “clear-cut” about the field of learning strategies: *the strategies people use will naturally fit in with what they believe about the learning process, and this will differ from one culture to the next, from one educational system to the next* (Johnson, 2017:142). Hence, learning strategies are individual, but also arise in unique contexts. While they depend on many factors, they are nevertheless an integral factor in the language learning/acquisitional process; in the next section we will look at other intervening factors.

### **3.2. Factors which affect language acquisition**

The process of acquiring a language is quite complex and depends on many intervening factors (Cenoz, 2000, 2003; Holmen, 2015). It is a process rooted in the individual and therefore affected by each individual’s history and experience with language exposure and learning in general. However, it is also a process arising in a social context with a number of contextual factors influencing the content, the rate, and the speed of language learning. In addition, studies on emerging bilingualism have pointed out a number of effects on successful bilingualism in the cognitive and communicative profile of these individuals. Holmen (2019) has developed a table based on Cenoz’s (2000, 2003) work in an attempt to summarize which individual and contextual factors might be in play in the acquisition of a language, alongside the outcome of bilingualism. Next, we will look more specifically at second language acquisition.

<b>Second language acquisition</b>	<b>Individual factors</b>	<b>IQ and aptitude</b> <b>Cognitive style</b> <b>Strategies and transfer</b> <b>Attitudes and motivation</b> <b>Personality</b> <b>Age</b>
	<b>Contextual factors</b>	<b>Natural vs. formal settings</b> <b>Ethnolinguistic vitality</b> <b>Socioeconomic status</b> <b>Educational context:</b> <b>additive language context</b>
<b>Bilingualism</b>	<b>Outcomes</b>	<b>Creativity</b> <b>Metalinguistic awareness</b> <b>Communicative sensitivity,</b> <b>based on a wider linguistic repertoire</b> <b>Communicative ability</b>

Table 1. *Factors which affect language acquisition, and effects of bilingual upbringing (Cenoz, 2000:48 and Cenoz, 2003:83 as cited in Holmen, 2015:41)<sup>12</sup>.*

As is apparent from the table, a great many factors affect language acquisition in general, including third language acquisition by minority students in Danish schools. For instance, we see a number of *individual factors* affecting language acquisition; here it is noteworthy that some of the factors are innate (e.g. IQ, aptitude and age) and others are learned (e.g. strategies and transfer). While learners make use of *strategies and transfer* in a language learning situation, strategies are also something learners develop through schooling and, thus, they are affected by the contextual factor *educational context*. Some minority language researchers (e.g. Lambert, 1974; Cummins, 2000) distinguish between students in an additive versus a subtractive learning situation<sup>13</sup>, based on the relationship between their languages. Thus, learners experiencing an additive learning situation might, most

<sup>12</sup> Compared to Holmen's version, the table has been simplified by deleting brackets and underlining.

<sup>13</sup> Additive and subtractive bilingualism will be discussed in section 4.5.

likely, differ in the strategies they have developed compared to those undergoing a subtractive learning situation. In this regard, there is a connection between the individual and contextual factors; and, they affect each other. Furthermore, students in an additive learning situation are more likely to develop their bilingualism to the point where the positive outcomes mentioned by Cenoz (creativity, metalinguistic awareness and communicative sensitivity) will also affect their third language acquisition.

### ***3.3. Summarizing the chapter***

In the first part of this chapter, we discussed second language acquisition and related concepts; we specifically looked at different theories about how L2 is acquired. Next, we examined the concept of communicative competence and discovered how a range of competences are necessary for achieving the goal of efficient communication. In extension to strategic competence, which we saw was a component of communicative competence, we looked at learning strategies which are relevant phenomena related to language learning. Here we noted that, particularly, metacognitive strategies – which involve reflecting on the learning process as well as monitoring the learning task – are related to efficient language learning. Moreover, we also saw that learning strategies are part of a highly complex field.

In the final part of the chapter, we described how language acquisition is not only affected by contextual factors but also individual factors such as IQ, personality, and motivation etc.

The next chapter, we will move onto, revolves around the last part of Table 1 we looked at above: namely bilingualism and its outcome. Thus, we will start by looking at early research studies conducted in the field of bilingualism, and more specifically the effect of bilingualism on cognitive development.



## Chapter 4. The impact of bilingualism on cognitive growth

In this chapter we will begin by looking at the first four decades (around 1920-1960) of research conducted in the area of bilingualism, including bilingualism and its effects on cognitive development; where researchers for the most have claimed bilingual inferiority on several cognitive measures.

Subsequently, we will look at research studies conducted following the first four decades. At this point, the methodological issues of earlier studies were criticized by novel investigators, leading to new findings suggesting the superiority of bilingualism on intelligence. The term *balanced-bilingualism* became central – this will be explained later.

Next, we will examine in which manner socio-cultural and socio-linguistic factors affect the cognitive development and language proficiency of bilinguals. Here we will start by examining how different languages have different social value depending on the context in which they are utilized. This relates to the next section which regards two forms of bilingualism: *additive bilingualism* and *subtractive bilingualism*. Here we will discuss the social status of the bilinguals' first language and its impact on their cognitive development; as a result leaving the bilingual in an additive or subtractive learning situation.

Finally, at the end of this chapter, we will investigate how bilinguals' level of proficiency in their two languages is connected to their cognitive skills and language proficiency; investigators have referred to this as the *threshold hypothesis*.

### 4.1. Bilingualism and cognitive ability - The first four decades of research

Already from the 1920s, researchers have been interested in investigating the effect of bilingualism<sup>14</sup> on cognitive ability and intelligence (e.g. Saer, 1923; Smith, 1923). Since then, a number of studies have examined the difference between bilinguals and monolinguals on verbal and non-verbal intelligence measures; the majority of these studies concluded that bilingualism has an unfavourable effect on intelligence (e.g. Saer, 1923; Graham, 1925; Mead, 1927; Rigg, 1928; Wang, 1926) and only a few studies found little or no significant effect of bilingualism on intelligence (e.g. Hill, 1936; Darsie, 1926).

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<sup>14</sup>Here *bilingualism* refers to "living with two languages" or "bilingual upbringing" in contrast to "bilingual education".

For instance, researchers have found that bilinguals had a significantly reduced vocabulary (Grabo, 1931; Saer, 1923), displayed more grammatical errors (Saer, 1923) and deficient articulation (Carrow, 1957) relative to monolinguals, when measured in the language they share/in one of their languages. Hence, bilinguals were viewed as suffering from a “language-handicap” (Darcey, 1953) or put differently, they were thought to be experiencing “linguistic confusion” which had negative implications for bilingual children’s intellectual growth.

Nevertheless, these early findings were challenged in 1962 by Pearl and Lambert (1962) who arrived at somewhat contrary findings. Pearl and Lambert (1962) pointed to methodological flaws as a main reason for the one-sided findings of the previous research studies. They pointed to the key importance of controlling (i.e., the confounding effects of) certain variables such as *socioeconomic class*, *sex*, *degree of bilinguality*, *age* and the specific *language tests* when determining the impact of bilingualism on intelligence. Thus, previous studies were seen as unreliable since the effects of these various variables had not been controlled for.

Instead of reaching the commonly reported finding that bilinguals simply suffer from a language handicap, Pearl and Lambert (1962) found that bilingualism could have a positive effect on cognitive functioning when the right criteria were met.

In their seminal study, Pearl and Lambert (1962) tested 10-year-old primary school students from six French schools, all part of the same school system in Montreal, Canada; and all students were initially screened in order to categorize them as either monolinguals or balanced bilinguals<sup>15</sup>. The study found that bilingual children outperformed the monolinguals on several verbal and nonverbal tests of cognitive ability.

Pearl and Lambert (1962) go on to discuss the various reasons for the bilingual students’ intellectual superiority and claim that *they have a language asset, are more facile at concept formation, and have a greater mental flexibility (...). The bilinguals appear to have a more diversified set of mental abilities than the monolinguals* (Pearl & Lambert, 1962: 22).

Pearl and Lambert’s (1962) empirical study became a milestone in the field of bilingualism and cognition giving rise to a large number of research studies corroborating the idea of bilingual

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<sup>15</sup> A bilingual who is equally proficient in his two languages.

superiority on several cognitive measurements (e.g., Bialystok, 1986, 1999; Bialystok & Martin, 2004; Costa et al., 2008; Kaushanskaya & Marian, 2009; Kormi-Nouri et al., 2008).

However, Pearl and Lambert's study (1962) also quickly became the object of criticism for certain methodological issues – specifically vis-à-vis the exclusion of "unbalanced bilinguals".

Pearl and Lambert (1962) categorize bilinguals as either being *balanced* or *unbalanced*. The former refers to bilinguals who are equally proficient in their first (L1) and second (L2) language, and the latter to those who have only reached proficient skills in one of the two languages.

The terms balanced and unbalanced bilingual are to some extent consistent with what O'Doherty (1958) would call "genuine bilingual" – a bilingual who masters both his languages at an early age and "pseudo-bilingual" – a bilingual who knows one language better than the other and does not make use of the other language for communicative purposes.

Since the unbalanced bilinguals (or pseudo-bilinguals) were eliminated from the final sample in Pearl and Lambert's study (1962), Macnamara (1966) argues that this might have presented a partiality in favour of the bilingual sample; that is, only the bilinguals who acquired above a certain determined level in the English vocabulary test were included in the study. Pearl and Lambert (1962) are, however, aware of this limitation, and state the following:

A partial explanation of this [the results] may lie on our method of choosing the bilingual sample. Those suffering from a language handicap may unintentionally have been eliminated. We attempted to select bilinguals who were balanced, that is, equally fluent in both languages. However, when the balance measures did not give a clear indication of whether or not a given child was bilingual, more weight was attached to his score on the English vocabulary test. Thus some bilinguals who might be balanced, but whose vocabulary in English and French might be small, would be omitted from our sample. The less intelligent bilinguals, those who have not acquired as large an English vocabulary, would not be considered bilingual enough for our study (Pearl & Lambert, 1962:15)

As Pearl and Lambert (1962) themselves note they might have eliminated the less "intelligent" bilinguals from the final sample by excluding those who had not acquired a certain level of English vocabulary which may have influenced the final results; i.e., their subject selection procedure may have affected the results by introducing a bias in favour of the bilingual sample.

Nonetheless, the study still triggered a wave of studies in the area of bilingualism and its effect on intelligence with better control of variables overall.

#### ***4.2. Research studies following Pearl and Lambert's study (1962) including balanced-bilinguals***

As previously mentioned, Pearl and Lambert's impactful study gave rise to a great number of subsequent studies in the field of bilingualism and intelligence. Although Pearl and Lambert (1962) did attempt to include balanced bilinguals – that is bilinguals who are equally skilled in their two languages – they selected in favour of the bilinguals' score on the test in the targeted language (English) when they were unsure whether the bilinguals were balanced or not; thus, this could mean that there was no guarantee that they in fact were balanced bilinguals.

Therefore, following Pearl and Lambert's study in 1962, researchers considered the implications of subject selection. For instance, they began to assess the proficiency in the bilinguals' two languages ensuring that the bilingual subjects had developed an equal level of proficiency in both languages and in this regard were proper "balanced bilinguals" (Cummins, 1978). Hence, both bilinguals with high and low proficiency in their two languages were included in subsequent research.

A great number of those subsequent studies demonstrated bilingual superiority on numerous cognitive dimensions (e.g., Bialystok, 1986, 1999; Bialystok & Martin, 2004; Costa et al., 2008; Kaushanskaya & Marian, 2009; Kormi-Nouri et al., 2008). Researchers found that bilinguals achieved higher scores in tests on divergent thinking or creative thinking (e.g., Baker, 2001) and that bilingualism affects mental flexibility and meta-linguistic awareness positively (e.g. Ben-Zeev, 1977; Bialystok, 1987, 1991; Cummins, 1978; Thomas, 1992). Thomas (1992) defines metalinguistic awareness as the ability to focus attention on language as an object in and of itself and additionally, the ability to reflect upon language, and evaluate it; notably Thomas (1992) found, in her study, that bilinguals display a higher level of metalinguistic awareness relative to their monolingual peers.

Overall, researchers claim that bilingual learners are able to think about language in a more abstract way and regard it as an object at an earlier age (Moore, 2006; Ransdell, Barbier & Niit, 2006; Jessner, 2008; Cenoz, 2013).

Bialystok et al. (2013) report that bilinguals at all ages demonstrate better executive control than monolinguals matched on age and other demographic variables/background factors; they explain "executive control" as *the set of cognitive skills based on limited cognitive resources for such functions as inhibition, switching attention, and working memory* (Bialystok et. al., 2013:2).

Executive control supports activities such as multi-tasking, high level thought, and sustained attention; and although executive control occurs late in development, it also decays early in ageing. Moreover, Bialystok and colleagues (2013) claim that the impact of bilingualism on cognitive growth has a rather muted effect in adulthood, *but a larger role in older age, protecting against cognitive decline, a concept known as “cognitive reserve”* (Bialystok et al., 2013:2).

Craik, Bialystok and Freedman (2010) support this claim and report that bilinguals might benefit from a delay in the decrease in cognitive functioning resulting from ageing (Craik, Bialystok & Freedman, 2010).

Marton et al. (2017) examined different executive processes (resistance to interference, monitoring, switching) independently; in addition, they tested the hypothesis that processing speed alone accounts for performance differences between monolingual and bilingual individuals. The participants were young adults either university students at the time of testing, or professionals who had at least high school degrees; the bilinguals were balanced and the languages spoken among the bilinguals consisted of: Chinese, Dutch, Greek, Haitian Creole, Hungarian, Italian, Korean, Russian, and Spanish. The study found that bilingual participants *demonstrated faster implicit learning, greater resistance to interference, more efficient switching compared to monolingual participants* (Marton et al., 2015:1). However, no significant differences between the two groups were reported regarding monitoring. Moreover, Marton and colleagues (2015) reported that *depending on task complexity and on the target executive control component, there are different patterns of bilingual advantage, beyond the global faster processing speed documented in previous studies. Bilingual young adults showed more efficient adjustments of the cognitive system in response to changes in task demands* (Marton et al., 2015:1).

According to Kroll and Bialystok (2013), bilingualism, or the use of two language systems relates not alone to processes connected to language use but also processes involved in a number of crucial non-linguistic systems. In this regard, non-linguistic processes – especially those related to the executive function system – *are irrevocably altered by their recruitment for linguistic functions. Thus, as the bilingual mind is reconfigured to accommodate two language systems that have different relations to each other, to speaker intentions, to communicative contexts, and to pragmatic goals, the impact of that reconfiguration is felt throughout cognitive networks* (Kroll & Bialystok, 2013:8)

In addition to this, Kroll and Bialystok (2013) add that the hypothesized accommodations will vary for bilinguals across the lifespan and that since the young adult brain is more efficient than the older equivalent, the effect of bilingualism appears more obvious on the older brain. They further stress that the advantages might not appear until later in life, and that being bilingual as a young adult appears to have an increasing influence later in life, which produces these cognitive advantages in the elderly.

Nevertheless, some researchers have reported obvious bilingual advantages already at a very young age. For example, Cummins (1976) reports that the fact that bilinguals from an early age have two symbols for many objects may make them cognitively more advanced.

Interestingly, Leopold (1961) did an observational study of his own bilingual daughter and found that she was, from an early age, able to separate phonetical word sound from the meaning of the word. This separation of sound from meaning stimulates an early awareness of the conventionality of words and the unpredictability of language; and importantly, this awareness may result in more abstract levels of thinking, according to Leopold (1961).

Bialystok and Craik (2012) refer back to Pearl and Lambert's (1961) use of the term "mental flexibility" concerning bilinguals, and claim that their concept is still valid 50 years later:

In the first study reporting the surprising outcome of an advantage in cognitive and linguistic performance by bilingual children, Peal and Lambert (..) concluded: "Intellectually [the bilingual child's] experience with two language systems seems to have left him with a mental flexibility, a superiority in concept formation, a more diversified set of mental abilities" (p. 20). Peal and Lambert did not explain what they meant by "mental flexibility" but the description works well to describe the data accumulated in the 50 years since their original study. Bilinguals do sometimes have an advantage in inhibition, but they also have an advantage in selection; bilinguals do sometimes have an advantage in switching, but they also have an advantage in sustaining attention; and bilinguals do sometimes have an advantage in working memory, but they also have an advantage in representation and retrieval. Together, this pattern sounds like "mental flexibility", the ability to adapt to ongoing changes and process information efficiently and adaptively. (Bialystok & Craik, 2012:11-12).

We have now seen how the early studies in the field of bilingualism and intelligence – which tended to display bilingual inferiority on cognitive measurements – have been challenged. In particular, research conducted following Pearl and Lambert's study in 1962 has shown the positive effects of bilingualism on cognitive ability.

Nevertheless, demographic variables such as socio-cultural and socio-economic background as well as the pedagogy used in the educational system may have great implications on bilingualism and its impact on intelligence. Taking these key facts into account, we will now move on to explore the socio-cultural factors affecting bilinguals' cognitive development.

#### **4.3. Bilingualism and Socio-cultural Factors**

A number of factors appear to be relevant to consider when assessing the effect of bilingualism on cognitive development; some of these include the manner in which a person becomes a bilingual (Cummins, 1976) and the cultural value (i.e., status) of the bilingual's first language.

According to Paulston (1975), bilingualism can be categorized as two kinds: "elitist" and "folk" bilingualism respectively (as cited in Cummins, 1976); the former is associated with children from the upper class and the latter with those from the lower class.

The two types of bilingualism differ in that while *elitist bilingualism* is by the family's own choice and has, throughout centuries, characterized highly educated and upper-class societies, *folk bilingualism* is rarely of own choice but the consequence of diverse ethnic groups in contact and competition within a single state. An example of this can be seen in North America where many immigrant groups are "forced" to become bilingual in order to survive (Cummins, 1976).

Cummins (1976) explains that folk bilingualism has predominantly been associated with negative cognitive and academic results due to sociolinguistic factors, such as *the attitudes of the pupils and the parents, the prestige of the bilingual's two languages, the function which the languages serve within a particular social context, possible negative stereotyping and discrimination against minority language groups* (Cummins, 1975:19) and a number of other factors. In this regard, it is of interest to examine the cultural value of different languages which, therefore, follows next.

#### **4.4. Cultural value of languages**

According to a number of researchers (e.g., Jørgensen & Holmen, 2010), languages have different cultural value and status depending on the country in which they are utilized. For instance, as Holmen and Jørgensen (2010) suggest, *the mutual ranking between the language "Danish" and the*

*language "Turkish" is thus quite different, depending on whether we are in Copenhagen or in Eskisehir* (Holmen & Jørgensen, 2010:5, own translation).

There are more than 6900 language varieties categorized as languages worldwide (Gordon, 2009 as cited in Daryai-Hansen, 2010). In Denmark, around 100 languages are spoken (Risager 2005, as cited in Daryai-Hansen, 2010) and although there is one official majority language (Danish), Daryai-Hansen (2010) holds that due to cultural and linguistic diversity, the country can be rightfully categorized as *multicultural*. However, these languages have far from equal status and social value; in fact, there appears to be a strong hierarchal division between the various languages, with Danish in the one end (i.e., being highly valued) and immigrant languages such as Kurdish, Farsi, Mandarin etc. in the other end. Holmen and Jørgensen argue in their discourse analysis (Holmen & Jørgensen, 2000) that English is a very prestigious language in Denmark and has, in many cases, even higher social value than Danish.

Daryai-Hansen (2010) refers to Risager (2015) who stresses that the hierarchy of the various languages *does not reflect [... ] the languages' numerical sizes, but is based on economic, political and cultural factors* (Daryai-Hansen, 2010:89, own translation). According to Bourdieu (1982, as cited in Daryai-Hansen, 2010), the status of the languages in a given community is related to the power of the hegemonic representations and these representations assign the languages distinct value. That is, some languages are considered "legitimate languages" with a positive market –and distinction value, as opposed to other languages, which are characterized as "illegitimate languages" with negative market –and distinction value.

Daryai-Hansen (2010) provides evidence for the hierarchical division of languages in the context of Denmark through a discourse analysis of 13 different language political publications (with a total of 1949 discourse elements). Overall, she concludes that the Danish hegemonic language (political) discourse is influenced by ideological loaded discourses on bilingualism; namely, that on the one hand English is being regarded as a form of additive bilingualism as opposed to the immigrant languages, which are linked to subtractive bilingualism (see below for details on additive and subtractive bilingualism).

The immigrant languages are not included as legitimate languages akin to the Danish language but are viewed as illegitimate languages with negative capital on the linguistic market. This is already apparent in the terminology "immigrant languages" which, similar to the term "bilingual", does not imply all immigrant languages in Denmark but is *narrowed down [... ] to be used "synonymous*



*with black*” (Kristjánsdóttir & Timm, 2007 as cited in Daryai-Hansen, 2010:98, own translation). As previously mentioned, the term “bilingual” no longer carries the neutral meaning of “having two languages” in the context of Denmark, but has instead a negative connotation (Kristjánsdóttir & Timm, 2007, 2018; Horst, 2006).

The immigrant languages are the only languages that are discriminated implicitly and explicitly in the Danish discourse; e.g., this is apparent from the Ministry of Education’s official guidelines for elementary school’s mother tongue instruction (from 2002), which upholds the right for pupils to receive mother tongue instruction in one of the main European and Eastern-European languages together with Greenlandic and Faroese. The immigrant languages are not included and are thus discriminated.

Daryai-Hansen (2010) holds that English is almost viewed as a parallel language to Danish in terms of status and cultural value; next, there are the *other foreign languages* which are categorized as non-English and thus, as Daryai-Hansen (2010) claims, viewed implicitly as less relevant. Finally, at the bottom of the hierarchy, there are the immigrant languages which are considered *non-Danish* and *non-foreign* but, as mentioned, illegitimate. Thus, two types of discrimination are apparent in the Danish hegemonic discourse: on the one hand all the foreign languages which are not given the same status as English and then there is the discrimination of the immigrant languages due to the missing representation in the Danish hegemonic discourse.

In short, languages have different social value according to the context in which they are spoken. In Denmark, there appears to be a strong hierarchal division of the various spoken languages with English at the top and the immigrant languages in the bottom. The immigrant languages are blatantly discriminated against in the Danish discourse. They are regarded not as valuable resources as other foreign languages – in particular English; on the contrary, these languages are seen as a burden to society. Thus, next, we will explore what consequences such discrimination might have on bilinguals with those particular languages. Specifically, we will discuss two forms of bilingualism termed “additive” and “subtractive” bilingualism respectively.

#### 4.5. Additive and subtractive bilingualism

In an attempt to bridge the gap between socio-cultural influences and the actual process of cognitive growth, Cummins (1976) points to the distinction between “additive” and “subtractive” bilingualism.

Lambert (1974) categorizes bilingualism as two types: *additive* and *subtractive* bilingualism.

*Additive* bilingualism is often associated with members of a majority language group who learn a second language; they do so to extend their language repertoire and in the future make use of both languages. In contrast, *subtractive bilingualism* relates to members of a minority language group who are forced to learn a second language, which has a significant chance of replacing their first language.

According to Lambert (1974), when distinguishing between additive and subtractive bilingualism socio-cultural factors *prestige* and *social value* of the bilinguals’ two languages are crucial. That is, when the first language of the learner is valued by the given community the second language will be *added* to the learner’s linguistic repertoire. This will in turn, according to Lambert, affect the cognition of the learner positively as opposed to when the learner’s first language is not valued by the community; here the learner will gradually replace his or her first language with the second which affects the cognition of the bilingual in a negative fashion.

In view of this, it can be argued that schools play an essential role in terms of offering the bilinguals/plurilinguals an either additive or subtractive learning environment<sup>16</sup>.

The idea of bilinguals developing one of their two languages at the cost of the other was introduced by researchers prior to Lambert (1974) and Cummins (1976); for example, Macnamara (1966) termed this “the balance effect” and the concept is somewhat akin to what Cummins (1976) referred to as bilinguals being in a “subtractive situation”. Similar to the notion of bilinguals being in a subtractive learning situation, the “balance effect” relates to bilinguals with minority language background and not bilinguals in additive or elitist situations (Cummins, 1976). As we have seen, Paulston (1975) reported a somewhat similar division, classifying the two types of bilingualism as elitist and folk bilingualism.

In a recent empirical study, Edele, Kempert and Schotte (2018) examined the impact of immigrant bilingualism on third language learning (English). In their study, they specifically explored the effect of immigrant students' varying proficiency levels in L1 listening comprehension and L2

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<sup>16</sup> More on this in section 4.5.

reading comprehension on their L3. The researchers compared Turkish-German and Russian-German students with diverse bilingual profiles in their L3 proficiency skills to the L2 proficiency of their monolingual peers. Both immigrant bilingual groups displayed enhanced L3 skills relative to the monolingual group as long as they were balanced at a high level; i.e. they had high competence in their L1 and L2. Additionally, the Russian-German bilinguals with a dominant L1 displayed a higher level of L3 relative to their monolingual peers. The students who were balanced bilinguals at a low level or the bilinguals with Turkish L1 who had a more dominant L1 displayed lower L3 skills relative to monolinguals.

A further analysis was carried out including monolinguals with above-average German proficiency skills in order to compare them to bilingual students with above-average German skills; these results showed that L1 competence did not explain the immigrant students' L3 skills, but their L2 did.

In light of these results, Edele et al. (2018) point to the benefits of L3 learning for immigrant bilinguals being dependent on their competence in the language of instruction.

Edele and colleagues' (2018) study may – on some levels - support the notion of additive and subtractive bilingualism given that the participants in the study had immigrant language background (Turkish and Russian); and that only those bilinguals who were balanced at a high level experienced benefits of their bilingualism. Put differently, the bilinguals displayed advantageous behaviour in terms of their L3 when they had high levels of L1 and L2, which in turn could indicate that they have experienced additive bilingualism despite the low social value of their first languages. Moreover, the fact that the immigrant bilingual students displayed inferior L3 skills in cases where they displayed low levels of proficiency in both their L1 and L2 or in the case of the Turkish-German dominant L1 group (and hence a weaker L2) further support the idea of additive and subtractive bilingualism; in this case it may seem like these groups of bilinguals have experienced subtractive bilingualism.

It may be argued that these results, additionally, offer support to the threshold theory which suggest that the bilinguals/plurilinguals must have acquired a threshold level of proficiency in both their L1 and L2 in order for bilinguals/plurilinguals to excel in their L3 (Cummins, 2002).

However, in the latter part of their analysis, Edele et al. (2018) arrive at the conclusion that the immigrant students' L2 primarily predicts their level of L3 proficiency and, thus, not their L1. Edele

and colleagues (2018) explain their findings in light of other studies demonstrating the strong association between language proficiency and academic development (Kempert et al., 2016; OECD, 2006, 2015 as cited in Edele et al., 2018); i.e., arguing that high level of proficiency in the instruction language is related to greater school/academic accomplishments in the majority of subjects.

Nevertheless, following the idea of additive and subtractive bilingualism, it could be argued that had these immigrant bilinguals experienced a more noticeable additive environment they might have benefited more from their bilingualism. Yet, their study also illustrated the complexity behind measuring the effect of bilingualism on L3 proficiency – and even more so to determine whether the bilingual participants have experienced either an additive or subtractive bilingualism.

In short, the social context is vital with regards to the effect of bilingualism on cognitive growth and the development of the bilinguals' two languages; the social value of the bilinguals' first language will have an effect on the students' competence in the language of instruction (L2) and thus determine whether they undergo an additive or subtractive learning situation in their L3.

Therefore, if a learner views his or her first language in a positive light, this may affect second and third language acquisition positively as opposed to a learner who has a negative attitude towards his or her first language (i.e., which has the converse effect). While this does not explain the either positive or negative effect on the learner's cognition, Cummins (1976) proposes that there are other vital variables – i.e., related to the linguistic competence attained by the learner – which might influence the learners' cognitive ability. In other words, *the effect of bilingualism on cognitive growth may be mediated by the competence an individual attains in his two languages* (Cummins, 1976:22). In light of this, we will explore the so-called “threshold theory”; this theory posits that bilinguals must have attained a certain level of proficiency in his or her two languages before bilingualism influences cognitive functioning positively (see Cummins, 1976).

#### **4.6. Threshold hypothesis**

According to Cummins (1976, 1979, 1991, 2000) the outcome of bilingualism is associated with the level of proficiency the learner has achieved in the two languages; in other words, the level of linguistic competence attained by the bilingual child may affect the cognitive development of the learner; this is termed the *threshold hypothesis*. The hypothesis is related to the later linguistic

interdependence hypothesis according to which bilinguals' languages are seen as separate but mutually dependent entities (Cummins 1991).

Cummins (1976) holds that *the bilingual's level of competence in L1 and L2 is posited as an intervening variable in the causal chain between cognitive development and more fundamental social, attitudinal, educational and cognitive factors* (Cummins, 1976:36-37).

According to the threshold hypothesis as proposed by Cummins in the 1970's, the achievement of a high level of linguistic competence (in both of the bilingual learner's two languages, above an upper threshold) is a prerequisite for bilingualism to positively impact cognitive growth (Cummins, 1976).

Therefore, conversely, bilingual learners who fail to achieve a high level of competence in both of their languages (below a lower threshold) will experience that bilingualism affects cognitive growth negatively (Cummins, 1976, 1979, 1991, 2000). However, the theory holds that if the bilingual has reached a high level of proficiency in one of his or her languages and a low proficiency in the other, then bilingualism will have no effect on the learner's cognitive growth (i.e., neither positive nor negative).

Ricciardelli (1992) suggests that the inconsistency between studies prior to Pearl and Lambert's study in 1962 and the later studies may be explained when considering the threshold hypothesis. The fact that participants' level of proficiency in their two languages was not assessed in earlier studies causes a methodological problem; that is, they might have had a low level of proficiency in both of their languages which can account for the bilinguals' low test-scores relative to monolinguals.

In terms of Pearl and Lambert's (1962) study, it cannot be concluded whether it supports the threshold theory or not, since the bilinguals included were balanced (equally proficient in their two languages). However, whenever they were unsure whether they were balanced or not, only those who acquired above a certain predetermined level in the English test were included. Given that a high level of proficiency in both of the bilinguals' languages is required for the study to support the threshold hypothesis, it cannot be claimed it does so since we do not have such information regarding the bilinguals' other language.

However, the threshold hypothesis might explain the results of research studies done subsequent to Pearl and Lambert's 1962 study (Ricciardelli, 1992). An example of this could be Brown, Fournier and Moyer's study (1977) which found that monolinguals outperformed bilinguals in a concept

formation and science test; since the bilinguals were not tested in their two languages it is a possibility that their competence in one of their two languages had been low. This interpretation would presumably support the threshold hypothesis.

Although earlier studies and more recent studies arguably might have supported the threshold hypothesis, Ricciardelli (1992) claims that a great number of these studies in fact did not directly corroborate the theory since they did not offer information regarding the bilinguals' level of proficiency in their two languages. Ricciardelli (1992) reports that the issue with many of the recent studies on bilingualism is that although the bilinguals, included in the studies, were balanced this does not imply that they had attained a high level of proficiency in both languages; that is, according to the threshold hypothesis this is a prerequisite for bilingualism to promote cognitive growth.

In light of the lack of sufficient support for the threshold hypothesis, Ricciardelli (1992) tested the hypothesis in her study – entitled *Bilingualism and Cognitive Development in Relation to the Threshold Theory*. Herein she compared 57 Italian-English bilingual children with 55 English monolingual children on several cognitive measures; namely metalinguistic awareness and creative measures, tasks of nonverbal abilities, and a measure of reading achievement; notably on the whole, her findings supported the threshold theory.

Ricciardelli (1992) concluded that bilinguals, who had attained a high level of proficiency in both of their languages, appeared to be cognitively superior relative to monolinguals – whereas bilinguals who had high level of proficiency in only one of their languages and low in the other did not display such cognitive superiority. In contrast, bilinguals with low proficiency in both of their languages performed significantly worse than bilinguals who had high competence in one of their languages. In addition, there was no difference between the least proficient bilingual group and the least proficient monolingual group. Finally, bilinguals, who had low proficiency in English and high in Italian, presented worse results than monolinguals who had poor English skills; according to Ricciardelli (1992), this is because the bilinguals were tested in their weaker language (English), which might also explain why previous research was found to link bilingualism with adverse cognitive functioning.

In terms of more recent research studies testing the threshold hypothesis, Ardasheva et al. (2012) conducted a notable non-experimental study, in the Midwestern United States: the authors examined the predictive strength of English proficiency levels on academic achievement within

three different groups of middle school students. The study consisted of a sample of 17,470 native English-speaking (NES) students, 558 English language learners (current ELLs), and 500 redesignated fluent English proficient students (former ELLs). The study showed that former ELLs performed significantly better relative to current ELL and NES students in reading and mathematics. The fact that former ELLs' outperformed current ELLs, supports Cummins's (1979, 2000) lower level threshold hypothesis; i.e., suggesting that when reaching a suitable proficiency level in the language of education and testing, ELLs would no longer experience academic shortcomings. Moreover, the results support the idea of bilingual superiority over monolinguals given that the ELLs (bilinguals) outperformed the NES (monolinguals).

Likewise, Lechner and Siemund (2014) re-examined Cummins' threshold hypothesis in an exploratory study in Hamburg, Germany. The authors interestingly view the threshold hypothesis as a performance-based concept involving educational achievement rather than a competence-related construct. In their study, they specifically use performance data to measure achievement, which solely mirror the underlying linguistic competence. Moreover, they examine the outcome of high and low achievement levels in the participants' heritage language and their second language – which is the language of the majority – on their English achievement as a foreign language (L3). Hence, they investigate the achievement of academic literacy in English by Turkish-German, Vietnamese-German, and Russian-German simultaneous and successive bilinguals all of whom are part of a bilingual context where English is their L3. Intriguingly, their study corroborated the threshold hypothesis. That is, they found bilinguals with high levels of academic literacy in both German and their heritage language tended to attain better results in the production of academic English (i.e., English literacy is perceived as a form of academic achievement). Additionally, they found that bilinguals with low literacy levels in their heritage languages achieved relatively lower scores in the production of academic English.

In short, according to the threshold hypothesis, bilingualism is associated with cognitive superiority; i.e., specifically when bilinguals have attained a high level of proficiency in the two languages – as opposed to when low levels of proficiency are achieved; in such cases bilingualism is related to neutral or negative cognitive outcomes. What should also be noted here is that a high level of competence in the bilingual's L1 may indicate that the learner has proficient L1 literacy

skills; and, according to some researchers (e.g. Swain, Lapkin, Rowen and Hart, 1990), high levels of L1 literacy skills might promote proficient L3 skills<sup>17</sup>.

#### ***4.7. Summarizing the chapter***

In the first part of this chapter, we saw that earlier research – from the early 1920s up until the 1960s – linked bilingualism to cognitive inferiority on several measures. For instance, it was found that bilinguals had more grammatical errors, a significantly reduced vocabulary and deficient articulation relative to monolinguals.

Nevertheless, Pearl and Lambert (1962) challenged the idea of bilingualism being associated with negative cognitive outcomes by pinpointing methodological issues in earlier research. Thus - contrary to previous research - only balanced bilinguals (bilinguals equally proficient in their two languages) were included in their study, and their results displayed bilingual superiority on several measures of intelligence.

We saw, how the majority of studies conducted subsequent to Pearl and Lambert's (1992) investigation ensured that the bilinguals were balanced, and a great number of the findings supported the notion of bilingual superiority (i.e., on several measures of intelligence). For instance, research showed that bilingualism can positively impact mental/cognitive flexibility and metalinguistic awareness and that bilinguals present higher scores in tests on divergent thinking or creative thinking,

Moreover, we looked at the importance of considering socio-cultural factors when assessing the influence of bilingualism on both cognition and language proficiency. For example, we saw that – depending on the social environment, of which the bilingual is part – bilingualism can result in an additive or subtractive learning situation.

Furthermore, we looked at how different languages have unique social value, depending on the context in which they are utilized; e.g., we saw how there is a strong hierarchal division of the languages in Denmark with the immigrant languages at the bottom. The immigrant languages are discriminated against – given the lack of representation in the Danish discourse – and in many cases

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<sup>17</sup> More on the impact of L1 literacy skills in the next chapter.



seen as a burden for the country. Therefore, one may assume that many of the bilinguals with immigrant language background are struggling in a subtractive learning situation.

Finally, we examined how levels of proficiency in the bilingual's two languages are linked to their overall cognitive abilities; i.e., the threshold hypothesis. According to this theory, bilinguals must attain a high level of proficiency in both of their languages in order for their bilingualism to positively affect cognitive functioning; conversely, low levels of proficiency in one or both languages are connected to neutral or even negative cognitive outcomes.

## Chapter 5. Bilingualism and L3 acquisition

In the previous chapter, we saw that bilingualism might influence bilinguals' cognitive growth either positively or negatively, depending on social environment and levels of L1 and L2 proficiency. In this chapter, we will examine how bilingualism impacts the learners' linguistic proficiency – more specifically the learners' general L3 proficiency; as we shall see bilingualism can affect L3 proficiency in a positive, neutral or even negative way depending on various factors. Moreover, we will explore how literacy skills in the learners' first language may contribute to a more advanced L3 proficiency.

Furthermore, we will see how the educational system and pedagogical practices used in schools might affect bilingual students in unique ways. This will lead us to examine an approach to language teaching which may accommodate the bilingual students, namely *translanguaging*. Translanguaging revolves around the students utilizing their entire linguistic repertory of skills in learning situations; we shall see how the term has more than one dimension depending on the definition.

Third language acquisition refers to the process of bilinguals acquiring a non-native language as their third (fourth or indeed fifth). Research in this area is relatively recent in the field of applied linguistics; yet notably, the field is gaining popularity which is reflected in the rise of research output in recent years (Maghsudi, 2007; Dahl & Krulatz, 2016).

There is a common belief that bilinguals and multilinguals/plurilinguals acquire further languages more effortlessly than monolinguals. This was already suggested by researchers in the 1960s and 1970s (e.g. Albert & Obler, 1978; Vildomec, 1963 as cited in Cenoz, 2003).

Even though second language acquisition resembles third language acquisition, due to their many overlapping characteristics, there are some noteworthy differences; i.e., given that *third language learners have more language experience at their disposal* (Cenoz, 2003: 71). Cenoz (2003) suggests that L3 learners differ from L2 learners in that they already have access to two linguistic systems which they can draw upon; thus, this might affect the L3 learners who might have advantages over L2 learners. But as we saw in the previous chapter this is not an advantage which applies to all contexts.

As Cenoz and Valencia (1994) argue, *bilingualism and third language acquisition are complex phenomena that can be affected by a large number of factors: linguistic, sociolinguistic, social*

*psychological, educational etc.* (Cenoz & Valencia, 1994: 197). Accordingly, there are a number of studies on the effect of bilingualism on L3 acquisition, each with a unique focus. For instance, while some studies have explored how bilingualism affects L3 proficiency (e.g. Sanz, 2000), others have focused on the outcome of bilingualism on specific aspects of language proficiency and processing (e.g. Klein, 1995; Saif & Sheldon, 1969). However, as Cenoz (2003) states, it is of essence to note that *even if bilingualism has an effect on third language acquisition, it does not have to affect all aspects of third language proficiency in the same way, and different conclusions can be drawn depending on the dimension of language proficiency taken into consideration* (Cenoz, 2003:74).

Since the focus of this study is not on specific linguistic phenomena connected to L3 acquisition, this will not be pursued further. Instead, the study focuses on the students' general proficiency in their third language together with their language learning experience and motivation to learn English, in order to discuss the outcome of third language acquisition in Danish schools. As we shall see later, the students' general proficiency will be assessed through a reading comprehension test and a vocabulary test<sup>18</sup>.

### ***5.1. The effect of bilingualism on general L3 proficiency***

Research studies in the area of bilingualism and its effect on general L3 proficiency tend to vary depending on the status of the bilinguals' languages<sup>19</sup>. Overall, there is the distinction between cases where the L1 and L2 are both official languages in the given community and cases where the L1 is a minority language with no official status in the community.

Nonetheless, according to Cenoz (2003) general aspects of L3 proficiency show more favourable to bilinguals than those studies in which very specific aspects of language proficiency were analysed (Cenoz, 2003:80).

With regards to studies including bilinguals with both their L1 and L2 being official languages there are many examples of learners who, for instance, are bilingual in Spanish and Basque, or Spanish and Catalan (i.e., in the Basque country and Catalonia) acquiring English as their L3 (e.g. Cenoz, 1991 as cited in Cenoz, 2003; Lasagabaster, 1997; Muñoz, 2000; Sanz, 2000). In both Catalonia and the Basque country, Spanish and the minority languages Catalan and Basque are official languages

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<sup>18</sup> More on the reason for selecting these two tests in section 7.1. (method)

<sup>19</sup> See section 4.3.

and thus used in educational institutions. Examples of this are studies conducted by Cenoz (1991); Lasagabaster, (1997) and Sanz, (2000) as cited in Cenoz (2003). These investigators examined bilinguals' acquisition of English compared to that of monolinguals. Intriguingly, they all found bilingual superiority on various measures of English proficiency and metalinguistic awareness – even after controlling for variables such as intelligence, motivation and exposure to English.

In Cenoz's study (1991 as cited in Cenoz, 2003) the bilingual participants were Basque-Spanish while the monolinguals were Spanish; their results demonstrated that bilingualism has a major impact on different areas of English proficiency such as reading, listening, speaking, writing, grammar and vocabulary. Similarly, Lasagabaster (1997) tested Basque-Spanish bilinguals and Spanish monolinguals and found that the bilinguals presented a higher level of metalinguistic awareness compared to monolinguals. In a study by Sanz (2000), results revealed that Catalan-Spanish bilinguals scored higher on English tests relative to Spanish monolinguals.

It is crucial to keep in mind that, in the above mentioned studies – i.e., where bilinguals obtained better test results in their L3 compared to monolinguals in their L2 – the bilinguals' minority languages functioned as the language of instruction in the educational institutions. Thus, both of the bilinguals' languages were official languages in the community and presumably also valued. Additionally, the superior results of the bilinguals could also be argued to be an effect of L1 literacy (the effect of L1 literacy will be discussed later on). In light of this, it is relevant to look at studies where the bilingual's first language is not an official language in the community and, therefore, not the main language of instruction in the educational system<sup>20</sup>.

For instance, Bild and Swain's (1989) study compared the French proficiency of three groups of learners who were all part of a Canadian French immersion program. Two of the groups were bilinguals – one group had a non-Romance language as L1 and English as L2, and the other had Italian as L1 and English as L2 – the third group was monolingual. Although Bild and Swain (1989) found that the two bilingual groups outperformed the monolingual group on the French language test, after controlling for all confounding variables, there was no difference between the two bilingual groups. However, of note, the language of the bilingual group with Italian L1 was typologically related to the French language while the other one was not.

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<sup>20</sup> As for instance Edele et al.'s study (2018) in section 4.5.

Some of the research examining the effect of bilingualism on L3 proficiency, focused on the effect of L1 literacy on L3 proficiency (e.g. Thomas, 1988; Swain, Lapkin, Rowen & Hart, 1990). The studies found that literacy in the bilinguals' first language affected L3 proficiency positively. Thus, bilinguals who had L1 literacy skills outperformed both monolinguals and bilinguals with no L1 literacy skills.

The advantages of bilingualism in L3 acquisition have also been supported by a number of other studies (e.g. Edwards, Doutriaux, McCarrey, & Fu, 1977; Eisenstein, 1980; Wightman, 1981 as cited in Cenoz, 2003). Notably, some of the relatively earlier studies found no difference between bilinguals and monolinguals; presumably due to methodological issues such as limited sample sizes or lack of control of confounding variables.

Jaspaert and Lemmens (1990) included Italian immigrant children in their study. The authors likewise reported no significant differences between the learners, who were bilinguals in Italian and French and monolingual French-speaking children, in their acquisition of Dutch as their L3 and L2 respectively.

Sanders and Meijers (1995) conducted a two-year long observational study. The investigation included bilinguals – who were fifth and sixth graders from 10 different high schools in three different Dutch cities – with immigrant background; more specifically, they were bilinguals in Moroccan-Arabic/Dutch and in Turkish/Dutch. The aim of this study was to determine whether the bilinguals differed from their monolingual peers in their English achievements. In addition, it examined whether the bilinguals made use of different strategies relative to the monolinguals. Sanders and Meijers (1995) found overall that the bilinguals did not differ from the monolinguals in the English achievement tests. The bilinguals were tested in their L1 and were categorized as “balanced” bilinguals, which according to Sanders and Meijers (1995), should have promoted advantages in favour of the bilingual group. Nevertheless, they note that *bilingualism in itself is not sufficient to produce achievement advantages and the bilingual child's learning is equally affected by those same factors, school, program, teacher, that affect his monolingual peers* (Sanders and Meijers, 1995:74-75). Additionally, Sanders and Meijers (1995) mention that in light of the bilinguals' first languages most likely being non-prestigious languages, the bilinguals might not have experienced the advantages of their bilingualism, which as a consequence leads to either neutral results – as in this study – or even negative results. Moreover, albeit the bilinguals were equally proficient in their L1 and L2 and thus, considered “balanced”, Sanders and Meijers claim

that this does not guarantee that the participants have acquired a high level of proficiency (upper threshold) in both of their languages which, according to the threshold hypothesis, is a condition for bilingualism to promote cognitive growth. Regarding strategies, Sanders and Meijers (1995) found that L2 and L3 learning do not differ significantly in the early stages; and that the differences may become more obvious in the later stages of language acquisition.

In another early study, which looked at immigrant children, Balke-Aurell and Linblad (1982) compared monolinguals with bilinguals (with immigrant background) in Sweden<sup>21</sup> and reported no significant differences between the two groups in terms of their general English proficiency.

Elaborating on those findings, Mägiste (1984) provided some evidence suggesting that immigrant students, who had passive knowledge of their L1 and constantly made use of the Swedish language at home, had higher English proficiency relative to their monolingual peers; conversely, the immigrant children who made active use of their L1 at home presented marginally lower test results in English compared to the monolinguals. However, since we are not informed whether these differences are statistically significant or not, Mägiste's findings should be interpreted cautiously (Cenoz, 2003).

On the whole, despite the fact that not all studies corroborate the notion of bilingual superiority in L3 acquisition, there appears to be a trend in that direction. However, some researchers reported no differences between monolinguals and bilinguals with immigrant background in their degree of L3 proficiency; while some even found that monolinguals outperformed bilinguals. Cenoz (2003) suggests that *those studies in which bilinguals present no advantages usually involve a subtractive context*.

In light of these very diverse findings on the impact of bilingualism on third language acquisition, an attempt will be made to explain such results.

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<sup>21</sup> The National Swedish Board of Education initiated this extensive study, which included all grade 8 immigrant students in Sweden (2,736 immigrants).

## ***5.2. Explaining the diverse findings on the consequences of bilingualism on third language acquisition***

In order to understand the diverse findings vis-à-vis bilingualism and its effect on third language acquisition it is essential to understand L3 acquisition as a multifaceted area of research, in which many intervening factors should be considered.

Both *second language acquisition research* and *research on bilingualism* are in play in studies on L3 acquisition (for an overview see Table 1, chapter 3). Research in the area of second language acquisition revolves around the process of acquiring a second language and the linguistic effects of this process. On the other hand, research on bilingualism primarily focuses on the skills acquired by the bilinguals and the influence of bilingualism on cognitive functioning and school performance. Although these two approaches have previously been investigated independently, it is of essence to consider both in attempting to provide explanations for the impact of bilingualism on L3 acquisition; indeed, one should keep in mind that the two areas ultimately complement each other.

As previously discussed, studies suggest that bilingualism may affect the cognitive functioning and metalinguistic awareness of the learner and that it influences the communicative skills of the bilingual (Cenoz, 2003); therefore, Cenoz argues that *these in turn, affect third language acquisition* (Cenoz, 2003:82). Thus, a great many of the studies reporting favourable effects of bilingualism on L3 acquisition explain the positive findings by evoking the impact of bilingualism on cognitive development (e.g. Cenoz & Genesee, 1998; Jessner, 1999).

Moreover, as Cenoz states, *the explanations related to the outcomes of bilingualism are interesting because they can explain both positive and negative outcomes depending on the conditions in which bilingualism takes place* (Cenoz, 2003:82). By conditions, Cenoz (2003) refers to additive and subtractive bilingualism. In the previous section, we have discussed how bilingualism affects the learner's cognition either positively or negatively depending on the status of the bilingual's L1. The bilingual will experience positive consequences of bilingualism if his or her first language is valued in the community and the bilingual would then be adding a second, socially relevant language to his/her repertoire of skills (Lambert, 1974). However, when the bilingual's first language is not valued by the community, then bilingualism will most likely have a disadvantageous effect; here the bilingual would experience a subtractive form of bilingualism where the learner's first language gradually replaces the second language.

In light of this, the threshold hypothesis – as earlier discussed – is relevant to explore further: the bilingual needs to attain a high level of proficiency in both languages (above the upper threshold) before bilingualism can promote cognitive advantages. If the bilingual has only attained low levels of proficiency (below the lower threshold) in one or both languages, bilingualism most likely has neutral or negative consequences (Cummins, 2000).

According to Cenoz (2003) if the threshold hypothesis were to be *extended to third language acquisition*, we can expect that an upper threshold of bilingual proficiency would lead to cognitive advantages (Cenoz, 2003:82). Put differently, high levels of proficiency in the bilingual's two languages may predict positive results on the third language acquisition. This is somewhat related to what Cummins (1991) proposed in the *interdependence hypothesis*: that bilinguals can transfer skills from their L1 to L2 (Cenoz, 2003); and in this regard, Cenoz (2003) suggests that the skills the bilingual learner has acquired in the two languages might also be transferred to the third language.

In explaining the contradictory findings concerning the effect of bilingualism on L3 acquisition, Rauch et al. (2012) points to the essence of literacy<sup>22</sup> skills in the bilinguals' two languages in order for the bilingual to profit from bilingualism in terms of metalinguistic awareness – which they discuss partly explains the positive consequences on L3 reading proficiency:

One possible mechanism underlying this effect might be that greater syntactic complexity that is associated with written language on levels such as the CERF B1 and beyond is especially beneficial for students to develop metalinguistic skills if they can proficiently use written language in two languages, allowing them to compare and contrast the respective grammars. These metalinguistic skills are then in turn helpful in acquiring literacy in a third language. However, if literacy is deficient in either L1 or L2, meaning they can only deal with very simply structured written language, students will not have the opportunity to see how grammar works in different languages, and thereby develop good metalinguistic skills. (Rauch, et al., 2012:414)

### ***5.3. The impact of L1 literacy knowledge and use on L3 learning***

In addition to the socio-cultural context affecting the bilingual learners in their L3 acquisition, some researchers (e.g. Swain, Lapkin, Rowen & Hart, 1990) claim the importance of L1 literacy knowledge and use on the learners' L3 acquisition.

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<sup>22</sup> More on the effect of literacy in L1 and L2 below (section 5.3)



In a study by Swain, Lapkin, Rowen and Hart (1990), the learning of a third language was found to be enhanced through literacy in the learners' first language. The study was conducted in the multilingual city, Toronto in Canada and the participants were 319 eighth graders from sixteen bilingual classes (in English and French).

In the study, the students who were bilingual in the official languages English and French were compared in their French proficiency to the trilinguals, who besides the two official languages, had a different heritage language (HL)/L1 (Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Polish, Hebrew, Filipino/Tagalog, Chinese, Greek or Korean).

Overall, Swain et al. (1990) found that the students who had literacy skills in their HL, regardless of whether they made use of those skills or not, achieved better test scores on the French test than those who were non-literate in their HL or those who had no HL. Thus, Swain et al.'s (1990) results provided evidence that HL literacy has a positive effect on third language learning, and also that its positive effect is not only limited to literacy-related activities in the third language.

Given those results, Swain et al. (1990) went a step further and examined whether the high level of proficiency in the third language (French) was due to a high level of general HL proficiency or purely due to the influence of HL literacy. In this respect, Swain and colleagues (1990) teased apart the variables *HL literacy* and *general HL proficiency*, (with the presumption that those participants who conveyed that they frequently made use of their HL at home had high proficiency in that language). Here Swain et al. (1990) concluded that – with the exception of two measurements – a statistically significant difference between the participants, who were literate in HL and those who were non-literate, was found. In other words, these results prove that HL literacy has a positive impact on third language learning independent of general HL proficiency.

Supporting those findings, Sanz (2000) conducted a study where she compared Catalan/Spanish biliterate bilinguals with Spanish monolinguals in their acquisition of English as their respectively L3 and L2 and found that biliterate bilingualism contributes to more efficient L3 acquisition.

Along the same line Rauch, Naumann, and Jude (2012) tested the effect of L1 and L2 literacy skills on L3 reading proficiency skills in 299 German and Turkish-German secondary school students. The study found that the fully biliterate students performed better than monolingual and partially biliterate students in both L3 reading proficiency and metalinguistic awareness.

In providing an explanation as to why literacy skills in the bilinguals L1 might affect L3 learning, the threshold theory is relevant; the fact that the bilinguals have literacy skills in their L1 indicates that they have acquired an *upper level* of proficiency in their two languages which affects their cognitive development positively resulting in more advanced L3 skills.

However, since literacy is associated with academic performance, the studies reported here may also be related to general aspects of schooling. We will now move on to examine how the pedagogical frames in the educational system play a crucial role for the bilinguals' learning process.

#### ***5.4. The educational system and the pedagogy***

As we have seen previously, immigrant languages have extremely low social value in the context of Denmark<sup>23</sup>, and presumably also in other Western countries. Although it might seem ideal, altering the hegemonic language political discourse in any given context is highly complex; instead, implementation of more inclusive pedagogical approaches in the educational system might be a way to improve academic performance for minority youth.

Numerous research studies have been conducted on ethnicity and educational achievement across Europe and North America (e.g. Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Bishop & Berryman, 2006).

Investigators in this field agree that when attempting to explain patterns of minority group achievements it is necessary to look at the societal power relations (Cummins, 2009). Cummins (2009) argue that *groups that experience long-term educational underachievement tend to have experienced material and symbolic violence at the hands of the dominant societal group over generations* (Cummins, 2009:59). This connects well with the idea of additive and subtractive bilingualism and explains why bilinguals with immigrant languages underperform academically relative to their monolingual peers.

Cummins (2009) continues by suggesting that in order to reverse this pattern of underachievement, *educators, both individually and collectively, must challenge the operation of coercive power relations in the classroom interactions they orchestrate with minority or subordinate group students* (Cummins, 2009:59).

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<sup>23</sup> In the next section we will look into the situation of bilinguals in Denmark

Moreover, Cummins (2009) claims that societal power relations are apparent in the classroom when observing the process of identity negotiation among students. Portes and Rumbaut (2001 as cited in Cummins, 2009) conducted a longitudinal study in which they reported that identity negotiation arbitrates patterns of acculturation and academic achievement. According to Portes and Rumbaut children of immigrants – as new members of society – are busy finding their place and making sense of who they are. In addition, their study emphasizes *the consistent positive effects of what they term selective acculturation both on student self-esteem and academic achievement* (Cummins, 2009:59).

Selective acculturation allows the shift in culture to occur more slowly in addition to supporting the preservation of the parents' norms and home languages; this stands in sharp contrast to *full assimilation* where the students are forced to disregard their parents' languages and cultural norms.

Notably, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) found that selective acculturation is associated with conservation of fluent bilingualism, and sequentially, higher educational and occupational expectations, higher self-esteem and academic achievement. Thus, it appears that immigrant children are most likely to establish their place in the world, once they have learned the language and culture of their new country without losing those of the old.

In light of the above, Cummins (2009) stresses the positive impact of literacy skills in the home language as well as the importance of a bicultural orientation on academic achievement; here schools should assist by encouraging the bilingual students to improve their home language skills as well as feeling proud of their cultural heritage. In fact, Cummins (2009) claims that *the ways in which teachers negotiate identities with students can exert a significant impact on the extent to which students will engage academically or withdraw from academic effort* (Cummins, 2009:60).

Cummins (2009) has developed a figure (*figure 2* below) which displays the juncture of societal power relations and identity negotiation in defining patterns of academic achievement with students from minority groups. A central element in the pedagogy is the way in which educators interact with students.



*Figure 2. Societal power relations, identity negotiation, and academic achievement (Cummins, 2009:60, adapted from Cummins, 2001).*

It is obvious from the figure that societal power relations shape the pedagogical practice of schools and affect the way teachers and students interact. Given that schools do not have much power to alter societal power relations, they can instead aid the students to become stronger in many senses through interactions in the interpersonal space.

Cummins (2009) points to some examples of how teacher-student interactions may interconnect with societal power relations, namely through the writing of a so-called identity text. Identity texts cover the creative work or performances by the students, showcased in the classroom; these texts can be written, spoken, visual, dramatic or musical. The idea is then that the identity texts are reflecting the students' identities back in a positive light through a mirror that is being held up.

*When students share identity texts with multiple audience (peers, teachers, parents, grandparents, sister classes, the media, etc.) they are likely to receive positive feedback and affirmation of self in interaction with these audiences* (Cummins, 2009:61). This pedagogical method is arguably a way to not only acknowledge the students' heritage, but also promote their literacy development and trigger their metalinguistic awareness; i.e., given the students are encouraged to bring in their L1 (a crucial part of their identity).

Moreover, keeping in mind the potential positive affect of bilingualism on cognitive functioning and metalinguistic awareness and hence on L3 acquisition (Cenoz, 2003), the appropriate pedagogical approach seems crucial in reinforcing this. On the other hand, pedagogy neglecting the bilinguals' linguistic background and heritage might result in no – or even negative – consequences.

In view of this, we shall now move on to examine a pedagogical approach that most likely assists the students in experiencing an additive learning process by encouraging them to utilize all of their linguistic resources; namely *translanguaging*.

### ***5.5. Translanguaging and more holistic language approaches***

There are numerous terms for how bilinguals/plurilinguals utilize all of their languages in various contexts – hereunder in particular during language learning (situations) – and the idea of using all linguistic resources in the classroom has become very popular in recent years in the fields of *socio-linguistics* and *language, bilingualism and education*.

Terms such as *code-meshing*, *code-switching*, *polylinguaging*, *codemixing*, *superdiversity*, *metrolanguaging* – and the list goes on – cover acts of mixing/blending/utilizing all of the

bilinguals'/plurilinguals' linguistic resources in various ways during, for instance, communication and (language) learning situations. While some researchers argue that the various terms all cover the same notion, others claim that the terms have different meanings (e.g. Canagarajah, 2011; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Garcia & Klein, 2016; Jaspers, 2017). Nevertheless, the terms overlap and all revolve around the issue of how bilinguals/plurilinguals have wider linguistic registers relative to monolinguals, and how they are being used, or should be activated. The terms do not solely cover bilinguals/plurilinguals as minority groups, but also young learners who might have majority language background and for instance make use of English as lingua franca in addition to the majority language in the given country.

Some of the differences between the terms relate to a theoretical perspective on the links between the bilinguals'/plurilinguals' languages and how these are activated when communicating in a certain language. For instance, code-switching, refers to the *shift and shuttle between two languages* (Garcia & Wei, 2014); here the bilinguals' two languages are regarded as two distinct linguistic systems and thus, as two separate entities wherefrom the bilingual can borrow words from each of the languages when communicating in the other (Garcia & Klein, 2016). This notion resembles what the literature refers to as *interference, transfer or cross-linguistic influence* (Treffers-Daller & Sakel, 2012). Treffers-Daller and Sakel (2012) claim that *bilinguals and L2-learners cannot keep their languages completely separate at all times, and features of the deactivated language regularly appear in the language the speaker intended to use* (Treffers-Daller & Sakel, 2012:1). In the other end of the spectrum, there is an approach (translanguaging) that tends to be more "holistic" by including the bilinguals'/plurilinguals' entire linguistic repertoire of skills when communicating or learning and by not distinguishing between the languages as separate entities<sup>24</sup>. Accordingly, Garcia and Wei (2014) posit:

Translanguaging differs from the notion of code-switching in that it refers not simply to a shift and shuttle between two languages, but to the speakers' construction and use of original and complex interrelated discursive practices that cannot be easily assigned to one or another traditional definition of a language, but that make up the speakers' complete language repertoire (Garcia and Wei, 2014:22).

*Translanguaging* is a relatively new and developing term that originated in Wales in the 1980's (Baker, Jones & Lewis, 2012), and which became popular in the field of bilingualism and bilingual education subsequent to the publication of Baker's *Foundations of Bilingual Education and*

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<sup>24</sup> It should be noted that there are different definitions of translanguaging; we will discuss these later on.

*Bilingualism* (2001, 2006, 2011) and Ofelia Garcia's *Bilingual education in the 21st century* (2009). The term initially referred to a pedagogical practice in Welsh bilingual classrooms where the language mode of input and output was intentionally switched (Park, 2013). It has since been developed by numerous researchers, and as mentioned, is still under development. Thus, one exclusive/all-encompassing definition of the term is not available.

Baker, Jones and Lewis (2012) explain the initial purpose of translanguageing as a pedagogical strategy in the Welsh educational system. Here a Dual Literacy program was acknowledged in the school system where the skills involved might be referred to as translanguageing or transliterative skills (Baker, Jones & Lewis, 2012). At the time of implementation, an outline of the importance of developing dual literacy, from three perspectives, was carried out:

It assists individuals' intellectual development by refining their ability to think, understand and internalize information in two languages; it prepares individuals to learn additional languages by developing flexibility of mind and a positive approach towards other languages and cultures; and it prepares individuals effectively for situations where they need to use both languages and transfer from one language to the other. (Estyn, 2002:2 as cited in Baker, Jones & Lewis, 2012:6)

These goals support the idea of an additive learning environment as fundamental for bilinguals to experience the benefits of their bilingualism. Additionally, they support Cummins' (2009) idea of the importance of aiding students in becoming stronger and more confident through the interaction in the interpersonal space in schools.

In addition, the dual literacy program (and translanguageing), in the Welsh context, included both languages and the skills of listening and speaking were involved as well as reading and writing. Some examples of class-activity, in speaking and listening, for instance, could be that the students were asked to *use personal or factual detail heard in one language to give the gist of it in another* (Estyn, 2002, as cited in Baker, Jones & Lewis, 2012:6); or in reading: *use sources of information in both languages and summarise main points or opinions for different purposes, orally or in writing* (Estyn, 2002, as cited in Baker, Jones & Lewis, 2012:6).

These early dual literacy (and translanguageing) programs resemble what some more recent researchers (e.g. Daryai-Hansen, 2018) would classify as a *pluralistic approach*. This is a method that includes more than the target language in the language-class as opposed to a *singular approach*, which only includes the target language. Holmen (2019) and Daryai-Hansen (2018) argue the significance of moving away from the traditional one-language approach towards a more holistic

and additive approach in order to build efficient learning affordances for all students. In principle, this aligns with the general learner-centred approach in Danish schools. But for students speaking “immigrant languages”, this is also somewhat counteracted by the low cultural value ascribed to these in Danish society (see section 4.4).

Within the pluralistic approach, there are three different – however overlapping – methods to utilize in the language classroom (Candelier et al., 2009, Daryai-Hansen et al., 2009, Daryai-Hansen, 2018): *The integrated language didactic*, *Language awareness through a plurilingual approach* and *Intercomprehension between related languages*. The three approaches are organized around activities where the students build bridges between languages in the school curriculum (here the students’ first languages are included in the individual learning space); exercises that include all languages in the classroom and in the community<sup>25</sup>; and exercises that revolve around related languages. Overall, the objectives of these three pluralistic approaches to language learning are, according to Daryai-Hansen (2018), to enhance the students’ communicative competences and to strengthen the students’ linguistic awareness and linguistic acknowledgement, which are in line with some of those of translanguaging. Additionally, translanguaging as pedagogy is in no way limited to specific types of students; indeed, it can be used with different kinds of students (with different languages) and also in different educational settings. Garcia (2014) holds that translanguaging can, aside from language teaching classes, also be utilized in math, social studies, science as well as English language arts.

Thus, the term translanguaging has evolved from its original meaning in Welsh educational circles (in the 1980s) to recent times where it comprises more dimensions and has gained increased attention from experts in socio- and applied linguistics fields, hereunder in particular in North America (Baker, Jones & Lewis, 2012; Jaspers, 2017)

The term has been *generalized from school to street, from pedagogical practices to everyday cognitive processing, from classroom lessons to all contexts of a bilingual’s life* (Baker, Jones & Lewis, 2012:7). Garcia (2014, 2016), in particular, has extended the term beyond pedagogy to *mean more than pedagogic variation of input and output. She regards it as a strategy that bilinguals use to make meaning, shape their experiences, gain understanding and knowledge and make sense of their bilingual worlds through the everyday use of two languages* (Baker, Jones & Lewis, 2012:7).

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<sup>25</sup> An example could be for the student to translate a word, for instance “chocolate” in to all of the students’ various first languages and the languages used in the surrounding community.



Garcia (2009) views communication amongst multilinguals, in a place like New York without translanguaging as impossible. She has thus helped trigger the generalization of the term from academia to the more complex realities of everyday life through observation of translanguaging practices in bilingual communities and thus, giving the term an additional dimension (Baker, Jones & Lewis, 2012).

Garcia (2009) regards translanguaging as an approach to bilingualism centred around the observable, natural communicative practice of bilinguals and thus, not only centred around languages as separate codes/systems. In this regard, translanguaging as a pedagogical tool is a method to reinforce students' cognitive, linguistic and literacy skills; granted it is properly interpreted and practiced in schools.

Thus, Garcia (2016) argues that translanguaging has three dimensions; it is a *pedagogical strategy deployed by the teachers*, a *cognitive strategy utilized by the bilinguals/multilinguals* and a *communication practice used by the bilinguals/multilinguals* which also includes *code-switching* and *translation*. To this, Garcia adds:

It differs from both of these practices in that it refers to the *process* by which bilingual students perform bilingually in the myriad of ways of classroom – reading, writing, taking notes, discussing, singing, etc. Translanguaging is not only a way to ‘scaffold’ instruction, to make sense of learning and language; rather Translanguaging is part of the metadiscursive regimes that students in the twenty-first century must perform (Garcia, 2011: 147).

Although Garcia (2011; 2016) includes the classroom as an environment where translanguaging is observed, she claims it to be much more flexible and evident (in a bilingual curriculum) than initially suggested in its original Welsh meaning. Since it occurs naturally that bilingual children move between their languages impulsively and pragmatically, in a bilingual classroom, translanguaging is not just about input and output which, as we saw, was the original idea.

Thus, as Garcia claims herself, it is obvious that she adheres to a *strong version* of the term translanguaging (Garcia, 2016; Vogel & Garcia, 2017).

Vogel and Garcia (2017) argue that the strong version posits *that there is only one language system, one grammar, from which speakers select features* (Vogel & Garcia, 2017:7). On the other hand, the weak version of the term translanguaging – which Cummins (2008) amongst others abide to – does not view language learners as having one language system, but as having separate language

systems from which they select specific features. Hence, scholars who abide to the weak version, guard the notion of code-switching.

Nevertheless, in spite of the increasing popularity translanguaging has gained, it has also received harsh criticism. Especially Jaspers (2017) holds that it is likely to be less pedagogically transformative and socially critical than it suggests, and that *translanguaging research has more in common with the monolingual authorities it criticizes than it may seem, because it trades on causality effects that cannot be taken for granted, and because translanguaging, in some of its representations, is becoming a dominant rather than a liberating force* (Jaspers, 2017:1).

Jaspers (2017) suggests that researchers have gone too far in proposing that the implementation of diverse fluid language use definitely transforms the learning patterns within the classroom, and thus, not only the actual language use in class.

Although Jaspers agree with researchers such as Garcia and Lei Wei and their collaborators in that schools need to be transformed in order for all students to benefit from the teaching – and not only those from a more resourceful background – he strongly disagrees with the fact that translanguaging as a pedagogical strategy can solve the issues. Jaspers (2017) views these researchers as being idealists since they believe that schools that are founded on distinguishing between children might stop practicing this distinction simply because they are under the translanguaging umbrella.

Nevertheless, the concept is relatively new, especially in its more developed form, and much more research on translanguaging in different contexts is needed to judge its value.

Considering the previously mentioned ideas on additive and subtractive bilingualism and Cummins' idea of societal power relations, identity negotiation, and academic achievement, translanguaging as a pedagogical tool could be viewed as a method whereby social inequality can be reduced and bilinguals could reach their full potential vis-à-vis academic achievement.

In short, various terms have been developed over time with respect to how bilinguals/plurilinguists utilize all of their languages in various contexts. We have looked at the concept of translanguaging, which started as a pedagogical strategy that considered and included bilinguals'/plurilinguists' linguistic background in the classroom context; this resembles what other researchers later referred to as a pluralistic approach. Moreover, the term translanguaging has – according to some researchers – come to mean more than a pedagogical strategy. The term additionally embraces the following dimensions: the individual learners' *cognitive strategies* and the *communication practice*

(across languages) of the learner, which above all relate to how bilinguals/plurilinguals exploit their entire linguistic repertory of skills in various (learning) situations.

Finally, I wish to note that in the empirical study I have conducted, only two of Garcia's (2016) dimensions of translanguageing are investigated; namely the students' *cognitive learning strategies* as well as their *language use*. These two dimensions focus on the students whereas the third, the pedagogical approaches, focus on the teachers. This focus is not part of the present study.

### **5.6. Summarizing the chapter**

In short, both positive and negative findings have been presented in research on the effect of bilingualism on third language acquisition due to the different findings on the effect of bilingualism on cognition.

We have seen that the bilingual learner is influenced by the sociolinguistic contexts and the level of proficiency the learner has attained in his or her two languages – which consequently, has an impact on third language acquisition. If the bilingual's first language is acknowledged by the given community (or in the given classroom), the learner will experience an additive form of bilingualism. In extension to this, we saw how a high level of proficiency in the bilingual's two languages is essential, according to the threshold hypothesis, before bilingualism promotes cognitive growth; which in turn affects third language acquisition positively.

In contrast, the bilingual learner may experience a subtractive learning situation, if his or her first language does not have social value in the community; and the bilingual might gradually replace the first language with the second. Moreover, low proficiency in the bilingual's two languages appears to influence the cognitive functioning of the learner negatively, which consequently might affect the third language acquisition negatively. Most likely, the two factors (the social value of languages and level of proficiency) interact.

We have seen how literacy in the bilinguals' first language might affect the L3 learning positively. This might be explained by the fact that the bilinguals, who are literate in their L1 have already attained an upper level of proficiency in their two languages which affects their cognitive development positively and results in higher L3 proficiency.

We then saw how important an impact the educational system and the pedagogical practice might have for the bilingual students. Here Cummins (2009) argued that societal power relations affect how teachers define their roles (teacher identity) and the structure of schooling which then influence the way teachers interact with linguistically- and culturally-diverse students. Learning and identity negotiation then occurs in the interpersonal space that is formed by the interactions between teachers and students. And those identity negotiations will either strengthen power relations or promote collective relations of power.

In this regard, we have looked at how a more inclusive and holistic approach could accommodate the bilingual/plurilingual students, namely translanguaging.

We saw that translanguaging is a somewhat broad concept with more than one dimension, depending on the definition of the term. There is the pedagogical dimension – which was also the original idea behind the concept. This pertains to how school pedagogy should consider the students' linguistic background and include the various languages during teaching; the other dimensions relate to how the bilinguals use translanguaging as a cognitive/learning strategy and the third dimension relates to the learners' language use.

Having reviewed international research done over the years in the field of bilingualism and third language acquisition, we will now move on to the next and final chapter of this theory-chapter; namely the chapter that focuses on the situation of bilingual/plurilingual students in Danish schools.

## **Chapter 5. The situation in Denmark – the impact of bilingualism on school achievements and on L3 acquisition**

In the previous chapters, we have seen that bilingualism may result in either positive, neutral or even negative consequences in terms of the bilingual's linguistic proficiency – depending on the interplay between a number of factors. We will now move on to investigate the situation of bilinguals in the context of Denmark. Research on bilingualism and its impact on third language acquisition is quite limited in Denmark. The existing research in this area is primarily centred around bilingualism and polylinguaging in immigrant children and foreign/third language learning as two separate entities; thus, to the best of my knowledge there is no research on the combination of these two fields, namely the acquisition of a third language by bilinguals.

Nonetheless, in this chapter we will look at the existing research in those two fields.

The general findings regarding bilinguals with minority language background appear to be that they present significantly poorer results in school in comparison to their monolingual peers with majority language background (Danish) (Holmen & Ginman, 2006; Holmen, 2019).

This conclusion can partially be drawn when reviewing the PISA<sup>26</sup> evaluations from 2004 up until 2015<sup>27</sup>, test results from the school-leaving exams (Saarup, et al., 2004), tests in vocabulary in specific subjects (Gimbel, 1998 as cited in Holmen, 2019), results from vocational training programs (Jensen, 2004) and tests in global text-competence (Holmen, 2001). Indeed, the bilinguals underperform compared to their monolingual peers in all of the aforementioned measurements (Holmen, 2019).

In a summarizing article directed to teacher education, Holmen (2019) discusses why bilinguals in Denmark display inferior school results and consequently also English skills (as their L3) – in light of the fact that international research mostly links bilingualism to positive results.

According to Holmen (2019), the bilingual students' poor results are connected to additive and subtractive bilingualism (Lambert, 1974)<sup>28</sup>. Holmen holds that many of the bilingual learners with minority language background in Denmark appear to experience a subtractive learning situation where they gradually replace their first language with their second. In light of the previously

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<sup>26</sup> The Program for International Student Assessment

<sup>27</sup> <https://uvm.dk/internationalt-arbejde/internationale-undersogelser/pisa/pisa-2009>

<sup>28</sup> For more information on *additive and subtractive bilingualism* see section 4.5.

discussed, *threshold theory* (Cummins, 1976), it is a necessity for bilinguals to attain a high level of proficiency in both of their languages as otherwise their bilingualism will likely have a neutral or negative impact on their cognitive development and school performance.

In Holmen and Ginman's (2006) article *Speak Danish – or you will never start in school!*<sup>29</sup> (own translation) the researchers discuss an incident in a kindergarten class where a teacher tells two 4-year-old girls to “speak Danish, or you will never start in school”. The teacher is implying here that there is a hierarchical division between the language they are speaking, namely Arabic, and the language (Danish) which they should be speaking, according to the teacher. This leads to a conditioning of the girls to believe that their mother tongue does not have the same value as Danish (their L2) and consequently, leaving them in a subtractive learning situation. And since an authority figure tells them *not* to speak in their mother tongue, it would not come as a surprise that they would gradually replace their first language with their second.

In addition, it should be noted that some immigrant children arrive later in the country, and thus, do not necessarily start school in Denmark at the age of six (i.e., which is the norm); nevertheless, Engel (1997) holds that the problem is not the children's ages of arrival – and that some might arrive at a later age – but rather the educational system, which accordingly, does not consider the background and the shortcomings of these immigrant children and therefore forces them to adjust to the specific school system.

On top of that, as previously mentioned, the immigrant languages are the only languages that are discriminated against implicitly and explicitly in the Danish discourse by being excluded as languages of mother tongue instruction in the Ministry of Education's official guidelines for elementary school (from 2002) (Daryai-Hansen, 2010)<sup>30</sup>. The government only finances mother tongue instruction for students with a background in the European Union or Greenland and Faroe Islands (Holmen, 2009). This exclusion of opportunity to receive mother tongue instruction in the immigrant languages (and thus lack of value assigned to those languages) may also influence the identity of young bilinguals who might be left with the feeling of low self-esteem and low self-worth. This once again supports the idea of the bilingual experiencing a subtractive learning situation.

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<sup>29</sup> The title in Danish: *Tal dansk – ellers kommer I aldrig i skole!*

<sup>30</sup> See chapter 4.4 on “cultural Value of the languages”.

In terms of the bilinguals' L3 (English) skills, EVA (the Danish Evaluation Institute) concluded bilingual inferiority on the basis of results from evaluation of the tests of elementary school students (2003). Holmen (2006) refers to an interview with Paul Otto Mortensen – a member of the expert-group involved in EVA's evaluation – where an attempt is made to explain the findings. Mortensen notes in the interview (with a Danish Newspaper *Urban*) that the reason as to why children from ethnic minority groups are underperforming when it comes to their English writing skills relative to their monolingual peers, is because "the satellite dishes are pointing in the wrong direction"<sup>31</sup> in their homes (as cited in Holmen, 2006). Here Mortensen is referring to the lack of influence of western television – especially in English – in the household of the bilingual children. According to Mortensen, this lack of exposure to the English language may cause issues when the bilinguals start to learn English in school, since they are not familiar with the language and might even be unable to identify the language. Meanwhile, many Danish monolinguals have, already from an early age, been exposed to English in their home, which most likely sets the standard in school from the beginning. On top of that, the bilinguals are expected to learn a foreign language (English) via another foreign language (Danish).

Holmen (2006) holds that the bilingual learners do not have the same preconditions as the monolinguals in terms of English acquisition since many monolinguals have been exposed to English much earlier than in the beginning of English instructions in grade three<sup>32</sup>. The bilingual students might already fall behind from the beginning, since the English instruction in school is, primarily, based on the majority students' level of familiarity with English. Consequently, all this might, in turn, negatively influence the bilinguals' motivation to learn English (Holmen, 2006, 2019; Engel, 1997).

Thus, Holmen (2019) argues that it is essential that the pedagogical approach is reformed so that instead of taking the starting point in an average level of competence in, for instance, English, it would be better to view the students' preconditions individually and organize school instructions in accordance. This would align foreign language learning with the general student-centred approach of Danish schools.

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<sup>31</sup> In Danish: *Parabolerne er vendt i den gale retning*.

<sup>32</sup> From 2013 all children start English in grade one instead of grade three.

Moreover, it may be argued that an implementation of a more pluralistic approach could help the bilinguals experience an additive learning process. As previously mentioned, translanguaging<sup>33</sup> as a pedagogical tool might be a way for the bilinguals to feel that their first languages are valuable and that they can be utilized during third language learning (and also in other contexts).

What is attention-grabbing though, is that the bilinguals appear not to fall behind, in the same manner, when it comes to learning other languages (Engel, 1997; Holmen, 2019). The bilinguals seem not to experience the same difficulties learning, for instance, German as opposed to English. This, Holmen (2019) explains, occurs because all students are at the same starting point when German instruction is introduced. Thus, all students are at the same level in the beginning, which most likely affects the bilingual students' motivation, and further affects the learning of that language.

### ***6.1 Summarizing the chapter***

In sum, the common idea that bilingualism affects the cognitive development of bilinguals positively is not compatible with the Danish context; here bilinguals with immigrant background display poor results in school, particularly in English.

All in all, it appears as if the bilingual children are placed in a learning environment which does help them “add” to their existing knowledge and skills; and maybe even forces them to neglect their L1 in order to adjust to the Danish educational system. Therefore, a great many of the bilingual immigrants in Denmark undergo a subtractive learning situation, which, in turn, affects the cognitive functioning of the learners negatively, thus resulting in poor language skills.

However, as mentioned, in Denmark, the only available research regarding bilingualism and third language learning is based on PISA-evaluations, test results from the school-leaving exams etc., and not on actual research studies – and the two fields (bilingualism and third language) are not combined.

Hence, prior to concluding bilingual inferiority on various aspects of third language skills, further research is needed. In view of this, I have carried out an empirical research study, in which I have investigated bilingual students' acquisition of English as their third language; indeed, my study is the first of its kind in the context of Denmark.

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<sup>33</sup> For more on translanguaging see section 5.5.



## **Chapter 6. A study of Danish plurilingual students' English proficiency skills**

As previously mentioned, this study seeks to answer the following research questions:

*1a) What is the level and composition of plurilingual students' English proficiency skills compared to their monolingual peers'?*

*1b) Is there a correlation between the plurilinguals' proficiency level in their three languages?*

*2) Is third language learning enhanced through literacy in one's first language?*

*3a) Are there signs of the plurilingual students utilizing translanguaging in the English classroom?*

*3b) Is the plurilinguals' use of translanguaging connected to their level of proficiency in their three languages?*

In an attempt to answer these questions, I have collected data using different methodological approaches. Thus, using a mixed methods approach, I have combined quantitative and qualitative methods. Taken together, these methods will enable me to assess third language acquisition in both breadth and depth.

After a pilot phase, a quantitative investigation was carried out, in which a larger sample of ninth grade students – monolingual as well as plurilingual, namely 232 – were tested in their English proficiency skills. Initially, all plurilingual students' English proficiency skills were grouped and compared with the monolingual students' English proficiency skills. In addition, a group with the same L1 was formed among the plurilingual students (Turkish,  $n = 34$ ) and their results were similarly compared to the results of the monolingual group (and the plurilingual group with different L1). In addition, the English scores of all plurilingual students with L1 literacy skills were compared to the English scores of the plurilinguals with no L1 literacy skills and the English scores of the monolinguals. Moreover, multiple variables were examined through a statistical analysis, in order to examine whether variables such as socio-economic background and exposure to their L1, L2 and L3 predicted a high score on the English tests.

On the basis of the quantitative analysis three groups with low ( $n = 3$ ), intermediate ( $n = 5$ ) and high ( $n = 4$ ) scores were selected from the plurilinguals with Turkish L1 for further analysis through a qualitative method. These 12 students were further tested in their Turkish (L1) and Danish (L2) proficiency skills; they were observed in English class and interviewed in Danish and Turkish (to test their communicative competence in Turkish); they participated in a short reading comprehension assessment, and in a short speaking session in English (to test their communicative competence in English – only the four students with the lowest English scores). The main purpose of the qualitative study was to try to understand the complexity of the participants' respective proficiency levels, including their learning strategies and experience with and motivation to learn English in school.

In light of all this, I shall start this chapter by introducing the different methods used to collect and analyse data. In addition, I will also describe the specific instruments used for collecting data in the current study.

### **7.1. Method**

The research designs of empirical studies are ordinarily categorized as *descriptive* or *experimental* (Silvia, 2005). Whereas descriptive designs investigate a phenomenon without manipulating the environment, experimental designs set up specific test situations in order to investigate cause-and-effect relationships.

The following types of studies have descriptive designs: case studies of human behaviour, ethnographies of particular environments, surveys based on sampling of groups to extend to larger populations, and quantitative descriptive research involving the analyses of relationships among variables. The latter include correlation studies and prediction or classification studies, which focus on analysis of individual characteristics to predict future behaviour, for example, using regression analysis.

In contrast, studies with experimental designs manipulate the contexts by creating experimental and control groups; subsequently, the groups are given different treatments and the results of these treatments are measured by comparing pre- and post-tests (Silvia, 2005).

My study is characterized as both a descriptive study, since variables were examined without a manipulation of the environment (via classroom observations, interviews, and questionnaires), but

also as an experimental study, since testing and assessments of the participants took place. Moreover, a mixed methodology was used in the study, that is, a combination of quantitative and qualitative investigations.

Quantitative research, in social science, is based on empirical investigation of observable phenomena through statistical, mathematical or computational procedures whereas qualitative research does not involve numbers or numerical data. Qualitative research, by and large, studies people's worlds and actions in narrative or descriptive ways; thus, this type of research method is ideal when examining how and why things have happened. These two paradigms are based on two diverse and competing manners of understanding the world.

According to a great number of researchers, the third paradigm, mixed methods research, is presumed to provide a more holistic picture of a research problem by combining the two different data sources, quantitative and qualitative, in one study (Tsushima, 2015; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007; Greene, 2007; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

Since my study will both compare a large number of participants' test results and investigate whether several variables correlate with the test scores, a quantitative method will be deployed. Additionally, in order to attempt to go into depth with those results and understand the complexity behind them, a qualitative method will be used. Hence, the two methods will be combined in a mixed methodological approach.

The quantitative study is based on two English tests: a vocabulary test and a reading test; and in order to extract information concerning the participants for the statistical analysis, but also to select participants for the qualitative part of the study, questionnaires were employed. Moreover, tests in Danish and Turkish together with semi-structured interviews in Danish and Turkish along with classroom observations, short sessions with reading aloud in English and short sessions with speaking on a topic of choice were included in the qualitative study.

When dealing with research studies, the quality of the data collection is crucial. In the words of Gillman (2000): *The essential point is that good research cannot be built on poorly collected data* (Gillman, 2000 as cited in Dörnyei, 2003:1). Therefore, prior to the study, a number of methodological considerations were made, and the procedures chosen were piloted with a smaller group of students from the same area and age group.

For instance, it is of great importance to select tests with reasonable validity for the present purpose, i.e. tests of a relevant content and level of language proficiency for students in ninth grade in Danish schools. It is also important to select well-validated and reliable tests that preferably have been used in other research studies. Additionally, it is essential to consider the structure of the questionnaire and to pilot-test it prior to the actual study; this will subsequently be addressed in more detail. In the following part, all instruments will first be presented in brief; thereafter each will be described in greater detail.

## **7.2. Instruments**

The instruments employed for data collection in this study included: DIALANG English and Danish proficiency tests (vocabulary + reading tests<sup>34</sup>); they were included to measure the informants' level of English and Danish proficiency and to measure their reading ability in those two languages (Zhang & Thompson, 2004). The Telc Turkish proficiency test (vocabulary + reading tests) was employed to measure the participants' (those with Turkish L1) level of Turkish proficiency and reading skills. Questionnaires were administered in order to obtain information about the participants<sup>35</sup>.

For the qualitative study, interviews in Danish were included in order to shed some light on the differences between some of the proficient and less proficient plurilinguals, including their personal experience and attitudes towards English and English classes. Turkish interviews were included in order to assess the subjects' Turkish communicative skills orally.

One of the essential instruments employed in the qualitative study was the classroom observations. Their main purpose was to investigate the behaviour of the various plurilingual students in the classroom and to attempt to comprehend their various English proficiency levels. Here a goal was to investigate whether there were any signs of the usage of translanguaging as a learning strategy (both as a cognitive strategy and communication practice) amongst the students in English class, and whether this utilization was connected to the students' proficiency levels in their three languages.

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<sup>34</sup> Reading and vocabulary were chosen based on the pilot phase, in which the entire DIALANG was used, see 7.4.

<sup>35</sup> Only the English test and questionnaire were used in the quantitative analysis. The Turkish and Danish tests were used in the qualitative analysis.

Short sessions of reading aloud the blurb of the novel “The Great Gatsby” and providing a summary of the text were administered in order to assess the students’ reading comprehension as well as confirm their level of English proficiency.

Finally, short sessions of speaking in English on the topic of choice with the students who had lower English proficiency skills were included. This was included to assess their English communicative skills, but also in order to include speaking in what was presumed to be a non-stressful situation in the overall picture and thus get a deeper insight into these students’ general (low) English proficiency skills. Below is an overview (Table 2) of all the instruments included and thus, also of all the data collected.

<b>DIALANG English proficiency tests</b>	All participants (232)
<b>DIALANG Danish proficiency tests</b>	The 12 participants with Turkish L1 selected for the qualitative analysis
<b>Telc Turkish proficiency tests</b>	
<b>Questionnaires</b>	All participants (232)
<b>Danish interviews</b>	The 12 participants with Turkish L1 selected for the qualitative analysis
<b>Turkish interviews – to assess their Turkish communicative competence</b>	
<b>Participant/classroom observations</b>	
<b>Short reading comprehension assessments</b>	
<b>Short speaking session in English – to assess their English communicative competence</b>	The four students with the lower English scores (out of the 12 participants with Turkish L1 selected for the qualitative analysis)

Table 2. *Overview of all instruments and participants*

In the following section, each of the instruments are described in full.

### **7.2.1. English and Danish proficiency test: DIALANG – a diagnostic system**

In order to measure all of the participants' level of English proficiency and the 12 plurilinguals with Turkish mother tongue's Danish proficiency, DIALANG was administered. DIALANG is an online diagnostic system developed by a number of European higher education institutions to assess a person's proficiency in 14 European languages<sup>36</sup>; its main purpose, is to inform language learners about their level and about language learning; that is to give information to the learners about their strengths and weaknesses in the target language. In addition, the test is also suitable for language teachers and course administrators in order to e.g. assess where the students' language proficiency is according to the European Framework levels and advise the students which language course to take (Alderson et al.,2005).

The skills that can be assessed in the DIALANG target reading, writing, listening, grammar and vocabulary. The system reports the test taker's level of proficiency against the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) for language learning and the level of the learner will be placed on a scale which divides language competence into six levels of proficiency ranging from beginner A1-A2 to (very) advanced C1-C2.

The system offers the learner a placement test and a self-assessment test prior to the language test in order to determine which test items are suitable to be included in the assessment of the learners' language; put differently, the pre-tests determine the level of the language proficiency test. Moreover, the self-assessment test is used in the feedback section where the learners' answers will be compared with their test results, to see whether they have a realistic assessment of their level.

Although DIALANG is considered highly valid for diagnosing foreign language proficiency purposes (Alderson, 2005) and due to issues in finding a suitable proficiency test for my study, it was decided to pilot DIALANG as a "classical" proficiency test. Also, in light of the findings thereof – namely the results from the participants' tests correlated with their English grades and with the teachers' comments on their English and Danish proficiency level – it was determined that DIALANG in fact could yield valid data for this study<sup>37</sup>.

It was taken into consideration that although the official website claims that there are no age limits for DIALANG test-takers, the test tasks have been written with an adult's experience of life in

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<sup>36</sup> Danish, Dutch, English, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Icelandic, Irish-Gaelic, Italian, Norwegian, Portuguese, Spanish and Swedish. <https://dialangweb.lancaster.ac.uk/>

<sup>37</sup> More on this, see section 7.4. (pilot study)

mind; thus, there might be the risk of inclusion of issues that might not be familiar or interesting to young learners. Furthermore, the website notes that *Young adults from 16-18 upwards should find the test quite suitable*. Since the informants in my study are between the ages of 14-16 (and one 17) this issue could be a pitfall. Nevertheless, the age of the participants will be used as a variable in the statistical analysis and it will be looked at closely and commented on if it turns out that age plays a role for the participants' test results.

DIALANG is solely an online test and does not exist in a paper and pencil version; however, for my purpose a computer based test could cause complications if for instance all students did not bring their computers. Another issue is the fact that the test results cannot be saved electronically and it would simply be too complicated and time consuming to write down all the participants' test results. Therefore, it was decided to write down the test items approximately 1:1 on paper and let the participants take the test in a paper version. Of course, this in turn could affect the validity of the test, but since the piloting of my own paper-based version appeared to yield reliable data it could be argued that it is indeed valid.

As mentioned, the full DIALANG language test is preceded by a placement- and self-assessment test. However, it was decided to skip this in order to give all participants an identical test. The system is built in such a manner that if the placement and self-assessment test are skipped you will automatically be given the intermediate tests (B1-B2). This level (B1-B2) seems suitable for the participants since it might be a little too difficult for some, nevertheless, that is acceptable when comparing a large number of students' proficiency skills in order to get a reasonable distribution. It is, of course, not ideal that some of the weaker students might find it so difficult that they can barely answer any questions. On the other hand, it is a necessity that the test includes questions that are very advanced (compared to their level) in order for the top students to excel. Another point is that according to the official Danish guidelines for the English curriculum in upper secondary school<sup>38</sup>, students in their first year(s) are placed at level B2. This supports the claim that the English test at level B1-B2 is suitable for our participants since they are at their last year of lower secondary school. To make a point of comparison, it was decided to administer the B1-B2 test in Danish as well.

Due to time restrictions, only the vocabulary and reading tests were administered in order to measure the participants' level of English proficiency (and the plurilinguals' Danish proficiency).

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<sup>38</sup> <https://uvm.dk/gymnasiale-uddannelser/fag-og-laereplaner/laereplaner-2017/stx-laereplaner-2017>

The vocabulary test assesses the size of the participants' vocabulary; however, in this study it will be used as a measure of the informants' general English proficiency. This use of vocabulary tests is in line with the practice of other research studies (e.g. Albrechtsen et al., 2008).

The vocabulary test consists of 30 questions with different formats. For example, in some questions they are asked to read the text and give an answer by checking one of the boxes with the correct solution (see example below). As for the English test, all questions are in English but the instructions in Danish, and with regards to the Danish test, both instructions and questions are in Danish. Below is an example in the English test.

Læs teksten, vælg et svar blandt valgmulighederne herunder og sæt et X.<sup>39</sup>

**1. Choose the word which means the opposite of 'talkative'?**

- ☐ audible
- ☐ loud
- ☐ quiet
- ☐ mild

An example of a different format includes a question where the test-taker is asked to write the correct answer in the gap(s) – here they have to check their spelling in the computer-based version since the computer does not accept spelling errors, and thus that became a criterion in our paper and pencil version as well (see example below).

Løs opgaven ved at udfylde det tomme felt. Skriv dit svar. Kontrollér stavningen.<sup>40</sup>

**2. Which word means the opposite of the word written in CAPITALS in the following sentence? Write that word in the box. The word begins with an 'o'.**

On a sunny day I usually go  to get some fresh air. Who wants to stay INSIDE anyway?

<sup>39</sup> Read the text, choose a response from the options below and tick the right box (own translation).

<sup>40</sup> Solve the task by filling in the blank space. Write your answer. Check spelling (own translation).



The English and Danish tests included a lot of similar formats. However, the Danish test included a greater variety of formats; below is an example. Here the test taker has to fill in the gap by answering the question.

Løs opgaven ved at udfylde det tomme felt. Skriv dit svar. Kontrollér stavningen.<sup>41</sup>

**1) Indsæt det ord, der mangler i sætningen:**

**Firbenede dyr har to forben og to<sup>42</sup>**

The other test administered was as mentioned the DIALANG reading test. Similar to the vocabulary test, this test consists of 30 questions with a few different formats. The reading test was administered in order to measure the participants' reading ability in English (and the 12 plurilingual students' Danish reading skills). The test is a literacy test measuring only the receptive part of literacy. The texts are short and the topics vary from travel advertisements, personal horoscopes to article extracts and more technical texts. An example of a format (both in the English and Danish tests) is, as in the vocabulary tests, where they are asked to read the text and give an answer by checking one of the boxes with the correct solution (see example below).

Læs teksten, vælg et svar blandt valgmulighederne herunder og sæt et X.<sup>43</sup>

1. The concert given by the Nash Ensemble on 5 October as part of the South Bank's Haydn Festival will be dedicated to the memory of Christopher van Kampen. On 13 October, with the viola player Paul Silverthorne and the London Sinfonietta under Martin Brabbins, he was due to give the world premiere of Alexander Raskatov's double concerto 'Miserere in memoriam Oleg Kagan'. This concert will now also be dedicated to his memory.

**Which of the people mentioned has recently died and is to be remembered in a concert?**

- ☐ Christopher van Kampen  
☐ Martin Brabbins  
☐ Alexander Raskatov  
☐ Oleg Kagan<sup>6</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Solve the task by filling in the blank field. Write your answer. Check spelling (own translation).

<sup>42</sup> 1) Insert the missing word in the sentence:

Four-legged animals have two forelegs and two \_\_\_\_\_ (own translation).

<sup>43</sup> Read the text, choose a response from the options below and tick the box (own translation).

### 7.2.2. Turkish proficiency Test – Telc Language Test

The 12 elected participants with Turkish L1, were tested in their Turkish proficiency with the use of *Telc, Language tests*. The letters in the acronym “TELCT” stands for *The European Language Certificates*; thus, when the word is written in capital letters, the word implies the certificate you receive when passing one of the corresponding exams whereas when referring to the standardized tests, lowercase letters are employed: “*Telc, Language Test*” (<https://www.telc.net/en.html>)

Telc offers tests in ten languages<sup>44</sup> and at all proficiency levels of the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), and as the other tests employed for this study, the Turkish test corresponds to the CEFR.

According to their main website, Telc examinations are developed by test specialists and is both valid and reliable<sup>45</sup>.

The Telc exam consists of a written and an oral part; the written part consists of reading comprehension, language elements (vocabulary and grammar), listening comprehension and writing. In an attempt to measure approximately the same skills as when testing the participants in English and Danish only the language elements (vocabulary) and reading tests were employed for this study<sup>46</sup>.

The main website does not suggest any age limits for the Telc test-takers. However, since one of the purposes of the tests is to provide learners with a certificate to use in educational or work situations, it may be assumed that the target learners are adults. Therefore, the tests were piloted prior to the actual study and proved to be suitable for the age range of my participants.

Moreover, it was decided to use level B2, in order to test them at the fairly same level as in the Danish and English tests.

The *language elements test* (vocabulary and grammar) consists of 20 items with a short instruction given in Turkish prior to the questions. In the first part of this test, the test-takers are asked to fill in the gaps in a text by choosing the correct forms of the words given. Below is an example:

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<sup>44</sup> English, German, Turkish, Spanish, French, Italian, Portuguese, Russian, Polish, and Arabic.

<sup>45</sup> <https://www.telc.net/en/candidates/why-telc-language-tests.html>

<sup>46</sup> The free practice materials for download were used.

**Sevgili Dostum,<sup>47</sup>**

**İki hafta önce e-postanı aldım. Sağ ol! Sana ancak şimdi cevap yazabiliyorum. Haklısın, arayış olduğuna açtık. Umarım, bundan sonra \_\_\_\_\_1\_\_\_\_\_ daha sık yazarsınız.**

- 1**
- a) birbirimiz**
  - b) birbirimize**
  - c) birbirimizi**

In the other part of the language elements test they are asked to fill in the gaps in the text, but this time they have to find the correct answer among 15 options given (a-o) – and only ten of them are correct. Below is an example:

**Yaklaşık<sup>48</sup>beş yıl önce ilk klasik gitarımı alıp eve getirdiğimde sanki çalmasını çok biliyordum \_\_\_\_\_1\_\_\_\_\_ elime alıştı.**

- a) Eğer**
- b) Gibi**
- c) Gibisi**
- (....)**

The reading comprehension test is threefold; however due to time restrictions and fear of draining the participants, only two parts of the test were deployed. The two parts consist of 15 items in total. The first part of the test includes an article about a city in Turkey and five items; with each item, the test taker has to choose the correct statement out of three options. The questions aim to test the reader's comprehension. Below is an example:

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<sup>47</sup> My dear friend, I received your e-mail two weeks ago. I didn't have the opportunity to answer you before now. Thanks! You are right, there has grown a space between us. Hopefully, after this \_\_\_\_\_1\_\_\_\_\_ we write more often (own translation). (Then the test-taker has to choose the grammatically correct forms of the words "each other".

<sup>48</sup> About five years ago, when I brought my first classic guitar back home, it was like I knew how to play it \_\_\_\_\_1\_\_\_\_\_ my hand. A) If; b) As; c) Like (...) (own translation). (15 conjunctions are given to choose amongst).

**Fatih Bey,<sup>49</sup>**

- a) Kaş'a gelen birçok yabancıyla denize dalıyor.**
- b) Kaş'ın değerini denize daldıktan sonra anladı.**
- c) Turistlerle tanışmak amacıyla Kaş'a gelior.**

The other part of the reading comprehension test includes 12 different types of texts such as extracts from a travel guide, advertisements for summer schools and language schools, an advertisement for summer camp, a message to university students from their principle. The texts are short and authentic and derived from their respective websites. The test taker is asked to match 10 statements given with 10 of the extracts (and thus ignore two).

Following is an example of a statement which is supposed to match an extract from a summer camp advertisement:

- a) 11 yaşındaki erkek kardeşiniz, tatilini Türkiye'de bir çocuk kampında geçirmek isiyor.<sup>50</sup>**

### **7.2.3. Questionnaire**

In order to elicit information about the participants, two different sets of questionnaires were developed – one for the monolinguals and another for the plurilinguals.

There are some important considerations to be made when developing a good questionnaire. For instance, avoiding ambiguous or loaded words and sentences is according to Dörnyei (2003) of great importance; it is crucial that the questions are understandable and make sense for the participants so that they can provide relevant and valid answers. The grouping and ordering of the items are essential once the items have been chosen for the questionnaire. Dörnyei (2003: 60-61) holds that *item sequence is a significant factor because the context of a question can have an impact on its interpretation and the response given to it.*

Therefore, Dörnyei (2003) presents four main ordering principles for a useful questionnaire:

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<sup>49</sup> Sir Fatih,

a) He dives in the sea with many of those who come to Kaş.  
b) He realized the value of Kaş after a dive into the sea.  
c) To meet with tourists, he comes to Kaş.

<sup>50</sup> a) A 11-year-old brother wants to spend his holidays in a youth camp in Turkey.

- 1) *Clear and orderly structure*. Accordingly, the questionnaire must be well organized and orderly; the risk of an unpredictable ordering is that the respondent will become frustrated.
- 2) *Opening questions*. The initial questions set the tone for the whole questionnaire; hence, it is important that the questions that open the questionnaire leave a pleasant and relevant first impression on the respondent.
- 3) *Factual (or 'personal' or 'classification')*. These questions pertain to background information such as name, address, years of schooling, first language etc. Dörnyei (2003) recommends these questions being placed at the end of the questionnaire since these types of questions may be of a sensitive nature and may demotivate the respondents. Another reason is that when the respondents are first given the questionnaire they anticipate relevant questions and when they are confronted with these personal questions already in the beginning it might leave them with a feeling of anti-climax and consequently affect their interest.
- 4) *Open-ended questions at the end*. Dörnyei (2003) suggests that open-ended questions should be placed at the end to avoid some potential negative reactions from the respondents. When placing open-ended questions in the beginning the respondents might spend too much time and energy thinking about what to write and the required work might put some people off.

Apart from the four principles mentioned above, piloting a questionnaire prior to a study is of great importance according to many researchers: *if you do not have the resources to pilot-test your questionnaire, don't do the study* (Sudman and Bradburn, 1983 as cited in Dörnyei, 2003:64).

In addition, Dörnyei (2003) emphasizes the importance of pilot testing the questionnaire on a sample of people resembling the group of people the questionnaire is targeting. This should be done at various stages of its development, since a lot depends on the actual wording of the items and even small differences might alter the response patterns. In this manner, the pilot test will give the researcher an indication whether the questionnaire works or if any alterations need to be made in order to improve the final version of the questionnaire.

The questionnaires for this study were in Danish, thus, I will make use of my own English translations in the present chapter (and throughout the dissertation). For ease of reference, each questionnaire is assigned a unique number<sup>51</sup>. Since this part of the study builds on a smaller study

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<sup>51</sup> For the final draft of the questionnaires see Appendix A (monolingual-version) and Appendix B (plurilingual-version).

carried out in connection with my Master's thesis (Jalal, 2011), the questionnaire developed at that point was reused here (with a few, minor adjustments).

Furthermore, in the description below, the variables, derived from the questionnaires, will be commented on since a great many of them will be deployed later in the statistical analysis.

The questionnaires were divided into following parts:

- 1) *Personal information* targeted age, gender, linguistic background and socioeconomic status (SES) (see Appendix A, section 10-13 & Appendix B, section 18-21). Following Dörnyei's (2003) suggestions, these "sensitive" questions were placed at the end of the questionnaire. The participants were asked where their families came from, and what languages they had as mother tongues; although their teachers had already identified them as either monolinguals or plurilinguals before they were given the questionnaires, these questions confirmed whether they would be categorized as monolinguals or plurilinguals for the quantitative analysis. Hence, if there was a discrepancy between the teachers' and the participants' view on whether they were either monolinguals or plurilinguals, the participants' responses weighed more. In addition, they were asked if they were born in Denmark; and if not, they were to specify for how long they had lived in Denmark. With regard to SES, the participants were asked which kind of profession each of their parents<sup>52</sup> had; twelve kinds of professions were indicated; some of the examples are taxi-driver, engineer, craftsman or doctor, and the participants chose among the options. Based on this aspect of SES, the parents were subsequently assigned into one of five categories following Svalastoga's (Svalastoga, 1959; Svalastoga & Wolf, 1961) classification of the Danish social groups 1-5. Each parent was scored on a five point Likert-scale where 1 equals the lowest social group and 5 the highest.
- Following Swain et al. (1990), the informants were asked to indicate the highest level of education attained by each of their parents separately. Four levels were indicated ranging from the lowest to the highest level: elementary school, high school (gymnasium), some

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<sup>52</sup> Although it was previously a tradition only to use the fathers' background as an indication of the family's SES, it was decided to make use of both parents' background as SES indicator since it might be assumed that the majority of women work in this modern era.

kind of technical or vocational degree, and university (see Appendix A, section 12 & Appendix B, section 20).

Furthermore, the participants were asked how many siblings they had, and they were asked to note their educational status; some options were given, for instance: kindergarten, elementary school or high school (gymnasium) (Appendix A, section 11 & Appendix B, section 19).

To extract more information concerning the participants' SES, they were asked if they (and their families) lived in rented apartments, terraced houses, houses/villas or whether they lived in owner-occupied flats, own terraced houses or own houses/villas (Appendix A, section 13 & Appendix B, section 21).

The different aspects of the students' background (except number of siblings and their educational status) were added into a composite SES-variable to use in the statistical analysis. Information about their siblings was not systematically included, but brought in the qualitative analysis if interesting patterns appeared.

- 2) *Receptive exposure to English/Danish (for the plurilinguals with the addition of their mother tongue)*: In a number of questions on the participants' receptive language use, they were asked about frequency of use rather than types of use. *Frequency* included all the participants' informal receptive exposure to English via television and music (Appendix A and Appendix B, section 1a); the plurilinguals with the addition of their mother tongue (Appendix B, section 7a). The informants were also asked about the frequency of their reading in English and Danish. They were to note how often they read novels, non-fiction, articles on the internet or *other* (they were to indicate what) in their spare time in the two languages; additionally, they were asked how often they read newspapers in Danish (Appendix A, section 2 & 8 and Appendix B, section 2 & 15). In the same manner, the plurilinguals were additionally asked how often they read in their mother tongue (Appendix B, section 12).

These questions served to shed light on the amount of receptive exposure to English, Danish and their mother tongue (for the plurilinguals) the participants may have had; and consequently, if those variables correlate with the participants' scores on the English vocabulary test and whether they might predict high scores on the English vocabulary test.

- 3) *Productive use of English and Danish (for the plurilinguals with the addition of their mother tongue): frequency.* In a number of questions on the participants' productive language use, they were asked about frequency of use rather than types of use. As for English, the informants were asked how often they were writing text messages on their cell phones, chatting on Facebook and speaking with friends, family or acquaintances in English (Appendix A, section 1b and Appendix B, section 1b); the plurilinguals with the addition of their mother tongue (Appendix B, section 7b). The informants were similarly asked to indicate how often they wrote letters, e-mails, diary or *other* (they were to indicate what) in English and Danish (in Danish with the addition of the question how often they wrote for the school magazine) (Appendix A & Appendix B section 3; and Appendix A section 8 & Appendix B, section 16) and the plurilinguals with the addition of their mother tongue (Appendix B, section 13). These variables were included to examine whether the amount and frequency of the participants writing in the various languages correlate with their scores on the vocabulary test; and thus, whether the variables predicts high scores on the English vocabulary test.
- 4) *Motivation to learn English.* Ten different statements were included, both positive and negative, and the participants were asked to choose one option, ranging from "totally agree" to "totally disagree". Some examples are "I like to listen to English" or "English is difficult to learn" (Appendix A & B, section 4). The purpose of the question is to determine whether motivation is a variable which correlates with the English test and thus predicts high scores on the test.
- 5) *Residence in an English-speaking country.* The informants were asked whether they had stayed in an English-speaking country for more than two weeks; and if they had, they were to note for how long and how many times this had occurred (Appendix A & B, section 5). The initial purpose of these questions was to establish whether residing in an English-speaking country might result in the participants developing more proficient English skills; and whether the variable predicts high scores on the English test; however due to a great number of variables, it was decided to exclude this, and simply comment on it in the qualitative analysis if any interesting patterns are seen.



- 6) *Academic achievement* included the informants' average marks; for each student the mean of all his/her received grades in all the subjects in school, along with their recently received written and oral English grades, with the addition of the grade of their latest English essay (Appendix A & B, section 6). The request for the participants' average marks was included to provide an approximate indication of their academic capabilities and to investigate whether the variable correlates with the results of the English test. The reason why they were to indicate the latest grades they had received in written and oral English is that these grades most likely give an indication of their school-related English proficiency levels. The mean of the students' oral and written English grades were calculated and entitled *English grades*; however, due to a great number of variables only the variable *average marks* was included in the statistical analysis and entitled *Academic achievement*. Nevertheless, the mean and standard deviation of the variable *English grades* will be included in the quantitative analysis. Both *academic achievement* and *English grades* will be included in the qualitative study.
- 7) *Attitudes toward English speaking people, the English language, Danish people, the Danish language (in case of the plurilinguists, attitudes towards people from their mother tongue country, and towards their mother tongue language as well)* were assessed via a questionnaire adapted from Sanz (2000) which follows Osgood's semantic differentials format (as cited in Sanz 2000) (Appendix A, section 9, and Appendix B section 17). The participants were asked "what is your opinion of people from the following countries and their languages", and five pairs of antonyms are applied to each population group. The following is an example: "cultivated \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ ignorant"; the participants express their attitudes to each population group by choosing one among the five points presented at each pair of antonyms. Furthermore, they are expected to express their opinions of the various languages, thus the question "how do you think English/Danish/your mother tongue sounds" is followed by three pairs of antonyms to each language, for example "hard \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ soft". These variables were originally included to examine whether the participants' attitudes toward the various people and their languages differed; here in particular their attitudes toward English-speaking people and the English language may correlate and predict high results on the vocabulary test. However, due to the great number of other variables included in the analysis, these variables were excluded to cut down on the number

of variables. Nevertheless, the variables will be commented on in the qualitative analysis, if any interesting patterns are seen in the raw scores.

The following questions only apply to the monolingual students:

- 8) *Language(s) of monolinguals.* As previously mentioned, the teacher initially identified the monolinguals. However, to make sure that a relevant group was identified with Danish as their mother tongue, they were to indicate which language was their mother tongue, where their family was from, and then finally they were to list which languages they spoke at home; if they spoke a number of languages, they were asked to list them in order, with the dominant language first (Appendix A, section 10). Thus, these questions had the purpose to confirm that those initially identified as monolinguals were in fact monolinguals.

The following questions only apply to the plurilingual students:

- 9) *Mother tongue literacy.* Following Swain et al. (1990) the plurilinguals were expected to choose a statement among the following three 1) “I understand my mother tongue, but I cannot read it” 2), “I can read, write and understand my mother tongue, but I usually do not write in my mother tongue”, 3) “I can read, write and understand my mother tongue, and I usually also write in my mother tongue” (Appendix B, section 8). According to Swain et al. (1990:15), *literacy knowledge in the HL [heritage language], regardless of whether learners are currently making use of those literacy skills, has a strong positive impact on the learning of a third language.* Thus, their hypothesis can partly be tested in this study; and the question was included to identify the literate plurilinguals.

In light of this, I will, as previously mentioned, initially investigate whether the plurilingual group (as a whole) scored higher on the English test relative to the monolinguals. Subsequently, I will examine whether the group of plurilinguals, who are literate in their mother tongue, scored higher on the English test compared to the monolinguals and compared to the plurilinguals, who were non-literate in their L1.

- 10) *Age when learning their mother tongue, Danish, and reading/writing in the mother tongue.*

The plurilinguals were asked how old they were when able to speak their mother tongue and Danish, along with reading/writing in their mother tongue (if they had this competence)

(Appendix B, section 9). In order to cut down on the number of variables, these variables will not be included in the statistical analysis, but will be commented on if any interesting patterns emerge vis-à-vis these variables.

- 11) *Mother tongue instruction*. The plurilingual informants were asked whether they had received mother tongue instruction; if yes, they were to specify for how long, and at what age they had started (Appendix B, section 14). Previous research has reported that in order for plurilinguals to excel in their L3 relative to their monolingual peers, they must have acquired a threshold level of proficiency in both their L1 and L2 (Cummins, 2002). Thus, this variable was originally included in order to assess whether having received mother tongue instruction – which supposedly results in a certain level of proficiency in their L1 – predicts high results on the English test. However, due to a great number of variables, this variable was not included in the statistical analysis, but will be deployed in the qualitative analysis.
- 12) *Mother tongue language and Danish language use: frequency*. The plurilinguals were asked how often each of the two languages were spoken in their homes, and they were to choose one of the following categories for each language “all the time”, “about half the time”, “sometimes”, “hardly ever” or “never” (Appendix B, section 10a and 10b). However, in an attempt to reduce the number of variables to be included in the statistical analysis these variables were excluded. Nonetheless, the results will be commented on looking at the raw data; and I will examine the relationship between the language use at home and the scores on the English test in the qualitative analysis.
- 13) *Other languages spoken in homes: frequency*. The plurilingual participants were asked if other languages than their mother tongue and Danish were spoken in their homes, and how often it occurred (answer options same as above) (Appendix B, section 10c). The intention behind these questions was to examine if any of the plurilinguals were exposed to other languages at home, and whether that would contribute to high scores on the test. However, this variable was not included in the statistical analysis either, and will therefore only be commented on when looking at the raw data and in the qualitative analysis, if any interesting patterns occur.

14) *Self-assessment*. The plurilingual group were expected to assess their own oral skills in their mother tongue, Danish and English by choosing among the numbers 1 ... 10, with 1 being equivalent to “very poor” and 10 meaning “very good” for each of the three languages (Appendix B, section 11). Due to a great number of variables in the statistical analysis, this variable was not included either, but is found in the table of mean and standard deviation of the variables. Moreover, the variable will only be commented on in the qualitative study, if any interesting patterns emerge.

#### 7.2.4. Interviews

As previously mentioned, semi-structured interviews were included for the qualitative part of the present study. An interview in qualitative research proceeds much like a conversation with a specific structure and purpose – namely eliciting information.

A semi-structured interview contains a series of themes to be covered via various questions (Kvale, 1996). Meanwhile the responses given by the interviewee might alter the structure of the interview and thus, the interviewer should stay open to changes of sequence and types of questions in order to keep the flow of the interview going.

Just as in questionnaires, the actual wording of the questions are also of importance during semi-structured interviews; nevertheless, as opposed to a written questionnaire, the interviewer is able to clarify questions if necessary during an interview.

There are some main types of questions that may be useful to include in a semi-structured interview form. Kvale (1996) suggests the following: 1 *Introducing Questions*: which are opening questions prompting the subject to give spontaneous and rich descriptions; it might be questions as “can you tell me about...?”; “what happened in the episode you mentioned?”. Hereafter, the rest of the interview can continue as following up of dimensions in the response to the initial question. 2 *Follow-Up Questions*: The response given by the interviewee might give rise to further questions. For instance, the interviewer might ask for clarification or elaboration either by asking directly “what did you mean by that” or simply nod or say “mmm...” as an indication for the subject to continue the elaboration. Here a key factor is that the interviewer is able to listen to the subject while simultaneously keeping in mind the relevant questions. 3 *Probing Questions*: Here the

interviewer attempts to probe the content of the answers given by the subject without suggesting what aspects should be taken into account. For instance, the interviewer could ask questions such as “could you say more about that?”; “Do you have further examples of this?”. 4 *Specifying Questions*: The interviewer might want more precise descriptions, and to achieve this, he could ask questions such as “what did you think then”; “Is this something you have experienced as well?”. 5 *Direct Questions*: The interviewer might issue new topics and dimensions directly by asking a question not necessarily related to the previous ones. E.g. “have you ever received money for good grades”. Questions like these ought to be placed subsequent to the subjects’ spontaneous descriptions. 6 *Indirect Questions*: By using projective questions as for instance “what do you think about parents giving their children money when getting good grades” the answer of the subject might refer to the attitudes of others but may also be an indirect statement of the subject’s own opinion. In this case, it might be of essence that the interviewer questions the subject further in order to interpret the answer. 7 *Structuring Questions*: The course of the interview should be kept in mind by the interviewer and whenever a theme has been covered and a new topic is being issued, the interviewer should emphasize this by saying for instance “we will now move on to a new topic”. In addition, the interviewer should be careful not to spend too much time on the first part of the interview and thus neglect the last part. 8 *Silence*: Since the interview is not a cross-examination, the interviewer should make room for silent pauses throughout the interview to give the interviewee time to associate and reflect and hence opportunity to break the silence with possible relevant information. 9 *Interpreting Questions*: It might occur that statements given by the subject seem unclear and thus the interviewer might ask for clarification subsequent to the statement by asking “you then mean that...” or “is it correct that you feel...”. The interviewer might also make more direct interpretations of the subject’s statements; if, for instance, the subject has given an indication that he or she believes that it is easier for plurilinguals to learn new languages, but without uttering those exact words, the interviewer should interpret what is said, and ask whether the interpretation is correct by asking for example “is it correct that you feel that learning new languages is much easier for plurilinguals?”.

Additionally, Kvale (1997) recommends that the interview questions are kept brief and simple, that the interviewer speaks clearly and understandably, and that he does not make use of either academic language or professional jargon.

An issue often debated regarding qualitative investigations is whether *leading* questions should be used in interview studies or not. According to Kvale (2007) *even a slight rewording of a question in*

*a questionnaire or in the interrogation of eyewitnesses may influence the answer* (Kvale, 2007:88). Therefore, the interviewer should be aware of the wording of the questions and that it may unintentionally shape the content of the answers. However, in opposition to common belief, Kvale (2007) holds that leading questions are useful in interviews in order to check the reliability of the subject's response and to verify the interviewer's interpretations and that those types of questions should be used much more frequently in research. Finally, Kvale (2007) claims that the real issue is not whether to include or exclude leading questions but to consider where the questions lead and whether the leading questions lead to new, trustworthy and relevant knowledge.

#### **7.2.4.1. Interviews in Danish**

The qualitative part of the current study consists of interviews with the 12 plurilinguals with Turkish L1 in Danish. (For interview guide, see Appendix C.) Similar to the questionnaire study (see above), this part of the study builds on the interview questions used in my Master's Thesis (Jalal, 2011). Thus, the interview questions (with a few adjustments) developed at that point were reused.

The purpose of the interviews was to prompt the participants to elaborate on some of the answers they had given in the questionnaires, to gain some insight into what to look for during the observations and to address the issues listed below<sup>53</sup>:

- *How they experienced the tests.* The purpose of this question was to initiate the interviews with a relatively open question, and also to see if there was a relationship between the participants' test results and their opinion about the tests.
- *Their (and their parents') attitudes towards English.* This was to shed light on the positive, negative or neutral attitude the participants (and their parents) might have towards English, and the effect it might have on their English skills.
- *Their English, Danish and mother tongue reading and writing engagement.* This was to establish the relationship, if any, between their test results and the amount of reading and writing they engaged in during their spare time in the various languages.

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<sup>53</sup> The questions are to be found in Appendix C (in Danish + translation into English).

- *Attitude toward mother tongue language.* They were asked whether they liked their mother tongue and if they ever felt embarrassed when speaking it; the intention of the latter questions was to shed some light on the issue of additive and subtractive bilingualism, assuming that those who have felt embarrassed might have experienced a subtractive learning situation, as opposed to those who did not feel embarrassed. They were also asked whether they preferred to speak Danish or their mother tongue with those of their friends who speak their language.
- *Other languages.* The students were asked how they felt about learning new languages, and which other languages they had learned in school. They were also asked whether they felt learning new languages was easy or difficult; and whether they believed it to be an advantage or disadvantage to learn new languages as a plurilingual compared to monolingual. The intention behind these questions was to investigate whether any relationship exists between the participants' attitude towards other languages (and learning other languages) and their test results, predicting that those who excelled on the tests also find that learning new languages is easy.
- *Parental motivation in their children's education.* Here the participants were asked whether their parents encouraged them to study hard, or in a particular direction. These questions aimed to shed light on the effect of parental motivation on their children's educational ambition.
- *Translanguaging as a pedagogical tool in the classroom.* The students were asked whether they made use of their Turkish skills in any way in English classes.

The interviews were semi-structured and in Danish; the questions were initially open, but the participants' answers gave rise to both additional issues and further questions; however, some consistency was nevertheless insured in the interviews across the participants (i.e. that all participants were asked to respond to the same issues).

#### **7.2.4.2 Interviews in Turkish**

In addition, semi-structured interviews in Turkish (for interview guide, see Appendix D) were used to examine the participants' Turkish oral communicative competence in a non-formal setting as well as to validate their Turkish test scores (from the quantitative analysis). Thus, the questions were non-academic and more personal; for instance, they were asked in Turkish about their names, ages, favourite spare time activities, favourite food and such. They were also asked to state how they had spent their summer holidays, and where they liked to travel and why.

In the assessment of their communicative competence, focus was only on the measurement of their *linguistic competence* based on the participants' accuracy in choice of words, syntax and morphology; *discourse competence* which regards their ability to speak coherently; *strategic competence* which concerns their ability to use strategies when for instance in need of words they lack in their vocabulary while speaking; and *fluency* (Hedge, 2000) which pertains to their ability to link words without hesitation and apply grammar rules without thinking.

#### **7.2.5. Participant observations**

*Marshall and Rossman (1989) define observation as "the systematic description of events, behaviours, and artefacts in the social setting chosen for study" (Marshall and Rossman 1989:79).* Participant observation can be a very efficient way of extracting information for a research study. The benefit of observation is that the researcher is able to observe what people actually do or say relative to what they say they do. According to some researchers (e.g. Tylor & Bogdan, 1984:52) the researcher should keep some points in mind before conducting participant observation. One of the points is that the researcher should consider 1) being unobtrusive in dress and actions, 2) become familiar with the setting before initiating the data collection, 3) keep the observations short in the beginning to avoid becoming overwhelmed, 4) be truthful, but avoid being technical or detailed, when explaining to the participants what he/she is doing.

Another point by Whyte (1979) is that the informants should be viewed as collaborative researchers who might contribute with useful data on new areas and maybe even improve the skills of the researchers to conduct more efficient research when a solid relationship has first developed.

Conducting observations involves a variety of activities and considerations for the researcher, which include ethics, establishing rapport, selecting key informants, the processes for conducting



observations, deciding what and when to observe, keeping field notes, and writing up one's findings. In this section, these aspects of the research activities are discussed in more detail.

In terms of observing people's behaviour the concept of membership is also relevant to bear in mind. Thus, the researcher's gender, age, ethnicity etc. relative to the people he or she is observing is a key factor. If those being observed can somewhat relate to the observer, this might facilitate the researcher's access to knowledge since those being observed will perhaps feel less threatened and maybe even more comfortable.

When it comes to the question of how to conduct observations, Werner and Schoepfle (1987) as cited in Angrosino and Deperez (2000) outline the process of conducting observations and describe three types of processes:

- 1) *The descriptive observation* is where the researcher observes everything with the assumption that he or she knows nothing. The drawbacks here might be the collection of too many details that may or may not be relevant to the study.
- 2) *Focused observation* is where the insight of the participants yielded through interviews affects and even leads the researcher's decisions about what to observe.
- 3) *Selective observation* is where the researcher focuses on different types of activities to support explaining the differences in those activities. This process is more systematic.

Other researchers, e.g. Merriam (1988), have developed observation guides in which various elements to be recorded in field notes are compiled.

As for the observations in the current study, the main purpose was to examine what kind of student behaviour, communicative practices and learning strategies the participants made use of in English class, in order to discuss the reasons behind their English proficiency level. As a specific point, it was investigated whether translanguaging was used as a communicative practice and learning strategy in class; and whether translanguaging is connected to the plurilingual students' proficiency level in their three languages. For this, a combination of descriptive and focused observations were deployed. The interviews carried out prior to the observations had given some indications as to what to look for during the observations. However, this was only the case with some topics, whereas a lot of the time descriptive observations took place.

The observations attempted to trace signs of translanguaging amongst the students in various ways. As previously discussed, the concept of translanguaging can be viewed as having three dimensions;

*a pedagogical strategy deployed by the teachers, a cognitive strategy utilized by the bilinguals/multilinguals and a communication practice used by the bilinguals/multilinguals* (Garcia, 2016). In the observations for this study, the focus will not be on the actions of the teachers, hence translanguaging as a pedagogical strategy will not be examined. Instead, all focus will be directed toward the students, and thus, the observation will attempt to shed light on students' use of translanguaging as a *cognitive strategy* and as a *communicative practice*. In other words, the goal was to investigate whether the students utilized their entire linguistic resources in English class.

Translanguaging as a communication practice may be viewed as relatively observable, since the researcher will be able to hear or see (if in written format) the usage of other languages in English class. In addition, it may appear accessible for the students to retrieve from their memory during self-report whether they have used other languages in English class. Hence, it was noted if the participants made use of code-switching/transfer, compared grammar rules/words or syntax across languages – or in any way involved other languages in English class.

On the other hand, translanguaging as a cognitive strategy may cause more difficulties to observe for the researcher since this would entail access to the learners' subjective state/mind; hence, the researcher ought to be much more cautious when inferring the usage of translanguaging. In this case the researcher would have to rely on signs of the use of translanguaging as a cognitive strategy within the learner as well as self-reports from the learner. Signs may include moments when the learner hesitates while speaking or writing in English or has longer “thinking breaks” when speaking in English. Of course, here the researcher would need to ask relevant questions to clarify whether the learner was “thinking” in another language during the incidents. Cognitive strategies could for instance imply comparing grammar rules, words and/or syntax across languages. The way to examine this might only be possible through self-report. However, the validity of the self-reports should also be questioned for a number of reasons. First and foremost, it might be a problem if there is too great a time gap between the incident and the self-report. In that case, there is a major possibility that the learner would not remember what he or she actually did or even misremember things. Another issue that might be at stake is whether the learner wishes to please the investigator and thus, responds as he or she believes is desired.

In terms of membership, it appeared that my own background as a plurilingual, with the addition of my Turkish skills, might also have affected my participants in such a way that they may have felt slightly more comfortable and open to me as a researcher.

### **7.2.6. Short reading comprehension assessment**

Not all students have the capability of displaying their true proficiency in a test, especially not in a time restricted test in a classroom setting, perhaps due to stress or simply because the test does not accommodate some students' skills. This could be perceived as a drawback. Nevertheless, the short sessions of reading aloud the blurb of the novel "The Great Gatsby" and providing a summary of it was included to further test the 12 selected participants' English reading skills, and to a degree, also confirm their level of English proficiency previously established through the DIALANG test.

Another goal of this assessment was to identify whether the students made use of translanguaging as a cognitive strategy in a situation when they tried to comprehend a fairly difficult text and provide a summary. This was carried out by asking questions (right after they had read the text) about how they had faced difficult sentences or words and whether they had tried to for instance translate it to their mother tongue or Danish while reading.

### **7.2.7. Short speaking session in English**

Among the instruments were short sessions of speaking in English on the topic of choice with the four students who had the lowest scores on the English test in order to assess their English communicative competence and to validate their English test scores (from the quantitative analysis). Here the participants were asked to talk in English about any subject they liked; if they could not decide on any, they were asked to talk about their favourite movies, hobbies, last vacation and favourite musicians. The purpose of this task was to provide the students with a chance to speak in a presumably less stressful context since some students might perform better in this type of environment than in classroom settings or in testing contexts. In addition, a goal was to get deeper insight into their general low English proficiency skills.

The assessment of the students' communicative competence focuses – similar to the measurement of the students' Turkish communicative competence – only on their *linguistic competence* based on the participants' accuracy in choice of words, syntax and morphology; *discourse competence* which relates to their ability to speak coherently; *strategic competence* which concerns their ability to use strategies when for instance in need of words they lack in their vocabulary while speaking; and *fluency* (Hedge, 2000) which pertains to their ability to link words without hesitation and apply grammar rules without thinking.

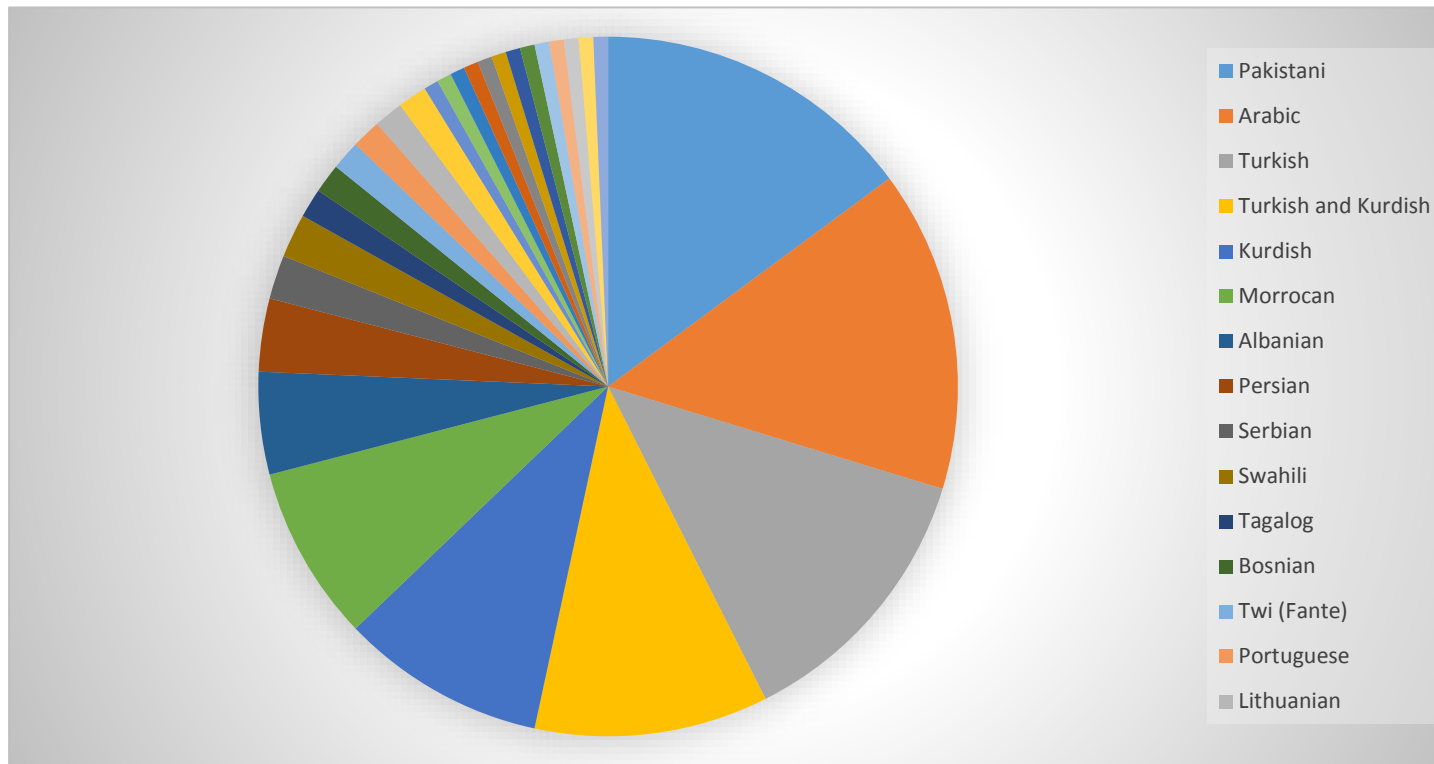
### 7.3. *Participants and settings*

The settings of the study were nine different elementary schools (16 different classes) in the Greater Copenhagen area, Denmark. Since all participants were insured anonymity, the names of the schools will remain anonymous. Nevertheless, participants' socioeconomic status (SES) was a consideration when selecting schools, and thus an attempt was made to collect data from both the Northern part of Copenhagen (Nordsjælland), where the average SES is perceived to be higher as well as other parts of Copenhagen where the SES is considered much lower (e.g. Vestegnen, Nordvest, Sydhavnen). Another consideration was the participants' mother tongue languages. One of the aims of the study was to compare plurilingual students' English skills with their monolingual peers' English skills. In the first phase, all students in the 16 classes were included, monolinguals as well as plurilinguals regardless of their background status. In the second phase, the purpose was to recruit participants with Turkish L1 since plurilinguals with Turkish mother tongue form one of the largest immigrant language groups in Denmark. Another reason for choosing participants with Turkish L1 is my own Turkish proficiency skills, which comes in handy when testing and interviewing the students in Turkish.

The informants who initially participated in this study were 249 ninth graders, however, 16 learners were eliminated due to various reasons; e.g. three had English mother tongues, one was dyslexic, two participants did not finish the tests and the rest were partially absent and therefore did not complete either the tests or questionnaire. Thus, the final sample was comprised of 232 students: 85 monolinguals with Danish L1 and 147 plurilinguals; 34 of these plurilinguals had Turkish L1. The students were between 14 and 16 years of age (one aged 17) ( $m = 14.93$ ).

The teachers assisted by initially identifying the students as either monolinguals or plurilinguals, and via the questionnaires, information on the learners' mother tongue languages was obtained. The distribution of the participants' mother tongue languages was as follows: Pakistani (Urdu, Punjabi) (15%;  $n = 22$ ), Arabic (Lebanese, Iraqi, Syrian, Palestinian) (15%;  $n = 22$ ), Turkish (13%;  $n = 19$ ), Turkish and Kurdish (11%;  $n = 16$ ), Kurdish (9%;  $n = 14$ ), Moroccan (8%;  $n = 12$ ), Albanian (5%;  $n = 7$ ), Persian (3%;  $n = 5$ ), Serbian (2%;  $n = 3$ ), Swahili (2%;  $n = 3$ ), Tagalog (1%;  $n = 2$ ), Bosnian (1%;  $n = 2$ ), Twi (Fante) (1%;  $n = 2$ ), Portuguese (1%;  $n = 2$ ), Lithuanian (1%;  $n = 2$ ), Dari (1%;  $n = 2$ ), Pashto (1%;  $n = 1$ ), Vietnamese (1%;  $n = 1$ ), Mandinka (1%;  $n = 1$ ), Italian (1%;  $n = 1$ ), Igbo (1%;  $n = 1$ ), Somali (1%;  $n = 1$ ), Gambian (1%;  $n = 1$ ), Greek (1%;  $n = 1$ ), Chaldean (1%;  $n = 1$ ),

Krio (1%;  $n = 1$ ), Bulgarian (1%;  $n = 1$ ), Spanish (1%;  $n = 1$ ), Dutch (1%;  $n = 1$ ). The distribution of the students' mother tongue languages is summarized in *figure 3* below:



**Figure 3.** *The distribution of the students' mother tongue languages*

The plurilingual participants were either born in Denmark, or had lived in Denmark for a minimum of six years (one had only lived in Denmark for two years).

By means of the questionnaire, it was established whether the monolinguals spoke languages other than Danish that would qualify as L1; no such subjects were found.

#### **7.4. Pilot study**

The pilot study was conducted in a single day, four months prior to actual data collection. The informants were 12 eighth grade students (two monolinguals and 10 plurilinguals) from a school in Copenhagen. The trial took place at the end of the school year, and thus, the age of the students in the pilot study and those of the students in the actual study (ninth graders) are relatively similar.

These 12 participants pilot tested the questionnaire. This questionnaire was already deployed in my Masters' thesis (Jalal, 2011); however, a few adjustments were made before it was trialed again for the current project. The participants were given 30 minutes to complete the questionnaire and since this trial of the questionnaire yielded solid results, nothing was changed for the actual study.

Subsequent to the questionnaire trial, the same participants piloted the DIALANG English proficiency test (level B1-B2). This trial included DIALANG reading, writing, listening and vocabulary tests, and the participants were given two hours to complete these. A few students were interviewed subsequent to the test, and they all agreed that it was too long and exhausting. This was confirmed by the results which proved that none of the students completed more than half the tests. In addition, it was obvious that the students were worn out and did not feel motivated to complete the tests after 30-40 minutes when they realized they were far from half way.

Therefore, in light of the pilot study, a modified version of the DIALANG English proficiency test was used in the actual study leaving out the listening and writing tests; thus, the final version consisted of the vocabulary and reading tests.

In terms of the DIALANG Danish proficiency test, it was decided to use the same sections as in the English tests, namely, the vocabulary and reading tests at the same level (B1-B2). Due to time restrictions and the fact that the Danish version was equivalent to the English version, it was decided to skip the pilot test of the Danish DIALANG test.

The Telc Turkish proficiency test was pilot tested one week prior to the actual study. The students were four plurilinguists with Turkish L1 (three male and one female) from the same class as some of the participants who form the final sample. The four participants had one hour to complete the test, and were interviewed subsequent to the test to make sure the test was suitable. While a couple of these students found the test rather difficult, two others found the level appropriate, and hence, it was decided to use the Telc Turkish proficiency test on the participants who formed the final sample.

The interview questions were approximately the same – with a few adjustments – as those used in my Master's thesis (Jalal, 2011), and thus, it was decided that a pilot of the Danish interview was not necessary.

Furthermore, due to time restriction, it was decided not to pilot the Turkish interview (Turkish communicative competence assessment, and the short reading comprehension assessment (English) as well as the short speaking session in English.

### **7.5. Procedure**

Prior to data collection, the respective teachers aided with gaining consent<sup>54</sup> from the participants' parents. Only one student's parents did not want their child to participate; thus, this student was excluded.

All data collection took place at the respective nine schools. In the initial phase, all 232 participants were asked to complete the questionnaires in their classrooms (16 different classrooms), for which they were given 30 minutes. Subsequently, all participants were administered the DIALANG English proficiency test for which they initially were given 5 minutes instructions and then one hour to complete. The questionnaire study and testing of English skills took place during one session in each class (except for one class, where it took place during two days) within a period of five months. The teachers were provided with feedback regarding the students' English test scores and they would then pass on the results to their students. No feedback was provided to the teachers regarding the questionnaires, and only the 12 participants selected for the qualitative study were asked to elaborate on some of their answers in the questionnaire.

In view of all of the plurilingual participants with Turkish L1's results on the English test, three plurilinguals with low score, five with intermediate score and four with high score were selected for the qualitative part of the study.

In the second phase of the study, these 12 selected participants with Turkish L1 were examined further. These students were from four different schools (five different classes). Initially, they were interviewed at their respective schools in empty classrooms; each student was interviewed for approximately 25-35 minutes. The interviews were in Danish and recorded on a mobile phone. The interviews took place on six different days within a period of three months. Subsequent to each interview, the observations in the classrooms were initiated. Each participant was observed in the

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<sup>54</sup> See Appendix F for consent form

classroom during English classes for a period of 1.5-2 months – focus was primarily on one participant at a time in cases where there were more than one participant in a class. Aside from the observations, all other sessions took place in empty classrooms or isolated areas at their schools<sup>55</sup>. During this period, each participant had between 3-4 hours of English classes per week. The observations targeted the entirety of the 12 students' behaviour, including everything they said (or whispered) and their body language as well as everything they wrote down. Since one of the aims of the study was to examine whether there were any signs of the students making use of translanguaging as a learning strategy in class, they were often asked whether they were using their Turkish as well as their Danish in various problem-solving situations or just in general when they were learning grammar-rules or during other language learning activities. All this was noted on paper during the observation; in addition, pictures were taken of the students' notes during class.

Approximately midway through the observations each of the 12 selected participants was tested in their Danish proficiency skills; each participant was administered the DIALANG Danish proficiency test. The participant was given 2 minutes instructions followed by one hour to complete the tests; the students were provided with feedback on the Danish test a couple of days later. Around a week later, the students were tested in their Turkish proficiency; the 12 students were given 2-3 minutes of instructions and one hour to complete the Telc Turkish Test and a couple of days later the students received feedback on the tests. In addition, each student was interviewed for a couple of minutes right after the Danish and Turkish tests where they were asked how they felt about the test; this was audio recorded.

Approximately, one week later, each participant was interviewed in Turkish in around 10 minutes; the interviews were all audio recorded. Two days later, each student participated in a short reading session. The students were each asked to read aloud the blurb of the novel *The Great Gatsby* and subsequently explain in their own words what the text was about; this session took around 5 minutes and was also audio recorded. Towards the end of the observational period, the four plurilinguals with Turkish L1 who had the lowest English scores (relative to the rest of the group from the qualitative analysis) participated in a short speaking session in English on a topic of choice; these took around 10 minutes each and were audio recorded.

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<sup>55</sup> For more details on how many hours each participant was observed see section 7.5. (procedure).



## **7.6. Scoring of the instruments**

The following section describes how the instruments were scored.

### **7.6.1. Scoring DIALANG – English proficiency test**

As previously mentioned, both the vocabulary and reading test consist of 30 questions respectively. Thus, there were a total of 60 questions, each correct answer yielding one point. Based on the test scores, three groups of participants were formed: those who scored 0-20 (low), 21-40 (intermediate) and 41-60 (high).

These three groups were formed in order to identify students from each level; in addition, it was prioritized to select students with clear differences between the three groups. For instance, in terms of the students with low scores, it was attempted to recruit those students (with Turkish background) who scored closest to 0 points and in the high-level group I strived to include those students (with Turkish background) who attained the highest scores; whereas in the intermediate-level group it was attempted to include students as close as possible to the number in the middle, thus around 30-31.

### **7.6.2. Scoring of Questionnaires**

The two sets of questionnaires consist of 18 (the monolingual version) and 21 (plurilingual version) sections. The following describes the different scorings which were subsequently used in the statistical analysis. For ease of reference, the numbers of each item are equivalent to those in the section *Questionnaires* (chapter 6.2.3) where all of the items are explained.

- 1) *Personal information*. Different aspects of the students' background were added into a composite SES-variable to use in the statistical analysis.

One of these variables was the parents' occupation: the parents were assigned into one of five categories following Svalastoga's (Svalastoga, 1959; Svalastoga & Wolf, 1961) classification of the Danish social groups 1-5. Each parent was scored on a five point Likert-scale where 1 equals the lowest social group and 5 the highest.

Moreover, the informants were asked to indicate the highest level of education achieved by each of their parents separately. Based on this, each parent was then scored on a 4 point Likert-scale where 1 equals the lowest educational level and 5 the highest.

The participants were asked what kind of house they lived in (rented or not etc.) and the houses were transferred to a six point Likert-scale where 1 equals the lowest and 6 the highest.

- 2) *Receptive exposure to English/Danish (for the plurilinguals with the addition of their mother tongue)*. The participants were asked to what degree they were listening and reading etc. in the various languages, and the responses were combined into one score for each language in the following way: the participants were to choose one option for each activity in each of the languages, ranging from “as often as I can” to “never”. Their score on the variables thus ranged from 1 to 5, where 1 equals “never” and 5 was equivalent to “as often as I can”. By adding the scores from the six items in the questionnaires, a score was calculated for each participant. This was done for all participants’ English and Danish as well as for the plurilinguals’ mother tongues.
- 3) *Productive use of English and Danish (for the plurilinguals with the addition of their mother tongue): frequency*. As with the previous questions, the informants were to choose one option for each activity in each of the languages, ranging from “as often as I can” to “never”. Their score on the variables thus ranged from 1 to 5, where 1 equals “never” and 5 was equivalent to “as often as I can”. By adding the scores from the five items (for all participants’ English and for the plurilinguals’ mother tongue) in the questionnaires, a score was calculated for each participant.
- 4) *Motivation to learn English* was measured via a Likert-format questionnaire, adapted from Gardner (1984), Cenoz (1991) and Sanz (2000). The scores on each of the 10 items ranged from 0-4. By adding the scores from the ten items in the questionnaire following Sanz (2000), a score was calculated for each participant.
- 5) *Residence in an English-speaking country*. This variable was not scored.

- 6) *Academic achievement*. This variable was not scored. The raw numbers (average marks) given by the participants were used instead. As for their “English grades” which they were to indicate, a mean of their written and oral English grades was calculated but only used for the qualitative analysis.
- 7) *Attitudes toward English speaking people, the English language, Danish people, the Danish language (in case of the plurilinguals, attitudes towards people from their mother tongue country, and towards their mother tongue language as well)*. Here a score was calculated for each population group by adding the scores on each of the five antonyms; each antonym was scored ranging from 0-4. As for the attitudes towards the languages the scores on the three antonyms (scored ranging from 0-4) for all three languages were all calculated separately.
- 8) *Language(s) of monolinguals*. This variable was not scored.
- 9) *Mother tongue literacy*. The participants were to choose between the three options: 1) “I understand my mother tongue, but I cannot read it”, 2) “I can read, write and understand my mother tongue, but I usually do not write in my mother tongue”, 3) “I can read, write and understand my mother tongue, and I usually also write in my mother tongue”. Option 2) and 3) were considered as having mother tongue literacy skills and were scored with the number 1; and option 1) was considered not having literacy skills and was scored as 2.
- 10) *Age when learning their mother tongue, Danish, and reading/writing in the mother tongue*. This variable was not scored and the raw number they indicated was used instead.
- 11) *Mother tongue instruction*. The informants’ responses whether they had received mother tongue instructions were scored as 1 (yes) and 2 (no). The questions regarding how long they had participated in mother tongue instructions and at what age they had started were not scored and the raw numbers the participants indicated were simply used.
- 12) *Mother tongue language and Danish language use: frequency*. These variables were scored ranging from 0-4 where zero equals “never” and 4 equals “always”.

13) *Other languages spoken in homes: frequency*. This variable was scored ranging from 0-4 where zero equals “never” and 4 equals “always”.

14) *Self-assessment* (in mother tongue, Danish and English). These scores ranged from 1-10 where 1 equals “very poor” and 10 “very good”.

### **7.6.3 Scoring of Danish interviews**

These interviews were not scored, however, the participants responses were included in a table and in general used in the qualitative study.

### **7.6.4 Scoring of Turkish interviews – *communicative competence***

The Turkish interviews consisted of 10 minutes long audiotaped dialogues between one of the students and myself. When assessing this, I listened to the tape together with an adult native speaker of Turkish and scored their proficiency under the following dimensions of communicative competence: *linguistic competence, discourse competence, strategic competence* and *fluency*.

For each of the skills, the students were rated “low”, “intermediate” or “high” depending on their level of proficiency.

In terms of linguistic competence, their scores were based on their accuracy in choice of words, syntax and morphology. As for discourse competence, the students were scored on the basis of their ability to speak coherently. The scores regarding strategic competence relate to the students’ ability to use strategies when for instance in need of words they lack in their vocabulary while speaking. Finally, the students’ fluency were scored based on their ability to link words without hesitation and to apply grammar rules without thinking.

#### **7.6.5. Short reading comprehension assessment (*The Great Gatsby*)**

In this assessment, the students were not given any scores; but rather they were assessed in terms of their overall comprehension of the text.

Initially, they were assessed in terms of their understanding of the whole text. If they had trouble understanding the text or parts of it, they were asked to identify the words that they did not know or which caused issues for their understanding of the text. Here they were assessed in terms of how many words they did not understand and which kinds of words they were. Finally, they were asked to guess at the words they did not know, and they were assessed in terms of that as well.

#### **7.6.6. Scoring of short speaking session in English**

A final assessment of the students with the lowest scores focused on their English communicative competence. Here short speaking sessions on topic of choice in English were administered for the *low* group students along with the bottom student of the *intermediate* group. As previously mentioned – and in line with the oral reading comprehension assessment, the measurement was carried out in order to include speaking in what was assumed to be a non-stressful situation and possibly get a deeper insight into these students’ general (low) English proficiency skills.

The scoring criteria were similar to those of the Turkish communicative competence assessment; therefore, the students were assessed in terms of their *linguistic competence*, *discourse competence*, *strategic competence* and *fluency* (Hedge, 2000). For each of the competences, the students were rated “low”, “intermediate” or “high” depending on their level of proficiency.

Similar to the assessment of the students’ Turkish communicative competence, their linguistic competence scores will be based on their accuracy in choice of words, syntax and morphology. In terms of their discourse competence, they were scored on the basis of their ability to speak coherently. Their strategic competence was scored based on the students’ ability to use strategies when for instance in need of words they lack in their vocabulary while speaking. Lastly, the students’ fluency scores pertained to their ability to link words without hesitation and whether they can apply grammar rules fluently.

### 7.7. Research ethics

Doing field-work, which involves human participants, calls for ethical considerations; this is in particular the case when dealing with “extra-vulnerable” participants such as children and even more so when it comes to minority group children. The faculty of Humanities (University of Copenhagen in Denmark) writes the following:

The faculty is committed to ensuring that its research activities involving human participants are conducted in a way which respects the dignity, rights, and welfare of participants, and which minimises risk to participants, researchers, third parties, and to the faculty itself.

In accordance with international policy on research involving human participants and national and EU regulations on personal data, the faculty will ensure that all relevant research at the faculty will be subject to appropriate ethical review.

The Research Ethics Committee has overall responsibility for the development of this policy and for the faculty’s ethical review process.<sup>56</sup>

Hence, ethical considerations were continuously kept in mind while making decisions prior to the data collection and while conducting the current study.

Discussions regarding research ethics is often centred around two main concerns; initially, *informed consent*, but also, *protection of research respondents* (Morrow & Richards, 1996).

Both of these concerns are rather challenging when children are the participants in research.

First and foremost, parental consent must be obtained before initiating a research study; according to Tymchuk (1992) parental permission and assent regards the parents' rights to decide what may happen to their children, which is also related to their responsibilities for minor children up until they reach the age of 18.

Morrow & Richards (1996) discuss that although *ethics committee guidelines place great emphasis on obtaining informed consent—perhaps it would be more helpful to allow 'informed dissent', enabling children to refuse to participate in research* (Morrow & Richards, 1996:95). Nevertheless, this may be more complex when considering “age-related competence” (Morrow & Richards, 1996) which relates to the discussion of when a child is competent enough (in terms of age) to give consent to participate in a research study.

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<sup>56</sup> [https://humanities.ku.dk/research/ethic\\_committee/](https://humanities.ku.dk/research/ethic_committee/)

Nevertheless, in Denmark – as in many other countries – the researcher must obtain parental consent prior to including children under 18 in a research study. Hence, parental consent was obtained prior to my study<sup>57</sup>.

The other key concern regarding ethical guidelines relates to the protection of research participants; this pertains to protecting participants from risk of any harm throughout the research process and as a consequence of the research (Morrow & Richards, 1996).

Similar to adult research participants, children should experience the same degree of confidentiality and privacy. Nonetheless, Morrow and Richards (1996) hold that *on the whole, the relevance of medical or psychological research guidelines for sociological research which attempts to adopt a children's perspective is by no means clear* (Morrow & Richards, 1996:95)

Although it is recommended by for instance the BPS<sup>58</sup> or MRC<sup>59</sup> that *proxy information* (Morrow & Richards, 1996:95) is used in cases where the risks of research may be significant, children themselves are indeed the optimal source of information when it comes to matters that are related to children.

However, on the condition that the research participants are treated with respect and that the researcher is conscious of his or her own limitations in terms of methods, including children as research participants is an ideal way of gaining knowledge of children's lives and experiences.

As for my study, assent from the included participants was highly prioritized since involuntary participation might have affected the data negatively and in worse case led to inaccurate data. Furthermore, the participants were allowed “informed dissent”, and hence permitted to exit the study at any given time if they felt uncomfortable or simply did not wish to participate any further; nevertheless, all selected participants remained throughout the whole study.

Aside from the consent form, which included information about the study, I orally informed all classes prior to the data collection regarding the study and their roles in it<sup>60</sup>. Moreover, all

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<sup>57</sup> See appendix F for consent form

<sup>58</sup> British Psychological Society (BPS) *Code of Conduct Ethical Principles and Guidelines* (1991)

<sup>59</sup> The Medical Research Council's (MRC) (1991) booklet, *The Ethical Conduct of Research on Children* (ethical guidelines specifically to children).

<sup>60</sup> The first step was contacting the schools, hereafter the teachers were informed orally about the study, and also given a letter with all of the information (this letter of information can be seen in appendix G).

interviews with the 12 selected participants were initiated with presenting thorough information about the study.

As previously mentioned, all participants remain completely anonymous using solely pseudonyms when referring to them in the study. Additionally, no school names are mentioned as well as other information that may in any way help in identifying any of the participants.

In order for the participants to feel comfortable speaking while being audiotaped, they were insured that only I (with the addition of a native Turkish speaker with regards to the Turkish interviews) would listen to the recordings; as such, I was unable to share any audio files whatsoever. The participants were informed that their teachers would only receive feedback regarding their English test results. The participants themselves were provided with oral feedback – in private – on all of their tests and assessments. The parents did not receive any feedback other than what their children would report back to them.

Furthermore, it was of essence that the participants were treated respectfully and cautiously in terms of their own personal limits and boundaries. If, at any given time, it was found that a participant felt uncomfortable either due to a question or an observation, I would immediately try to eliminate or minimize the discomfort by either moving on to a different topic (during interviews) or focus my attention elsewhere (if the discomfort occurred during observations in class). In addition, I was aware of the issue of *face-keeping* which regards the students preserving their image, dignity and prestige. In that sense, efforts were made for the students not to feel pressured to act or talk in a certain way, but feel comfortable enough to be themselves in my company; this was in particular relevant for the less proficient students who may attempt to either hide or act a certain way during a research study such as mine.

Another issue which drew my attention during data collection pertained to shame, hereunder *language shame*. Winstead and Wang (2017) discuss how certain individuals whom they refer to as *transnationals* – *these are people who are residents in the post colony yet continue to maintain socio-economic relations in their country of origin, are hired for unskilled labor, and are often identified as immigrants* (Winstead & Wang, 2017:16) – are affected negatively by their native language being restricted in the country they live in; this is in particular may affect children involved in transnational movements. *As their native language is restricted or rejected, these children feel a sense of shame not only about their language but also rejection of their heritage, which affects their sense of well-being* (Winstead & Wang, 2017:16). Although the Danish context



is not identical to the context which Winstead & Wang (2017) describe, many similarities can be drawn between the children of transnationals and minority group children/plurilinguals with immigrant background (in Denmark). Thus, considerations were made regarding students feeling shame about their mother tongue and hence hesitance to speak it in front of others. Therefore, all Turkish interviews took place in empty classrooms or empty areas in the school; and when the students were asked any questions regarding their mother tongue in class, this was always attempted to be done discretely so that only the participants at hand would hear it.

Overall, the participants' well-being was crucial; hence, they were treated with kindness throughout the whole process.

### ***7.8. Quantitative study - results***

In this chapter we will look at the results from the quantitative analysis. We will start by looking at the raw data derived from the questionnaires as well as the descriptive statistics. Hereafter, we will move forward with the statistical analysis and look at ANOVA tests, comparing the vocabulary scores by groups and subgroups, correlates of the vocabulary test, as well as a multiple regression analysis to assess predictors of the vocabulary test.

Through the questionnaires information regarding the participants' background was attained; this was in order to detect whether any factors such as SES, their exposure and use of their languages etc. would appear to play a role in terms of the participants' English test results and also to compare the monolinguals with the plurilinguals based on the results of the questionnaires.

These raw data have been summarized in the following table; i.e. the table shows the results of the participants' answers in the questionnaire. The numbers are calculated into percentage and show the differences between the monolinguals and plurilinguals on the basis of some of the variables. For instance, the distribution of the monolinguals' and the plurilinguals' SES is shown as *low*, *middle* and *high* in the table.

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Monolinguals</b>	<b>Plurilinguals</b>
<b>Socio-economic status (SES)<sup>61</sup></b>	Low: 21.43% Middle: 28.57% High: 50 %	Low: 53.47% Middle: 43 % High: 3.47 %
<b>Academic achievement <sup>62</sup></b>	Low (0-4.9): 9.3% Middle (5-8.9): 54.7% High (9-12): 36%	Low (0-4.9): 24.29% Middle (5-8.9): 60.7% High (9-12): 15%
<b>English grade<sup>63</sup></b>	Low (-3-4.9):11% Middle (5-7.9): 24.4% High (8-12): 64.63%	Low (-3-4.9): 34.87% Middle (5-7.9): 24.34% High (8-12):40.79%
<b>Receptive exposure English<sup>64</sup></b>	Low/middle: 97.64% High: 1.2%	Low/middle: 95.5% High: 4.48%
<b>Productive use English</b>	Low/middle: 97.65% High: 2.35%	Low/middle: 95.9% High: 4%
<b>Receptive exposure L1 (only plurilinguals)</b>		Low/middle: 1.36% High: 98.64%
<b>Productive use L1 (only plurilinguals)</b>		Low/middle: 100% High: 0%

<sup>61</sup> This division of percentages was calculated in the following way: the low group consists of participants with SES between 0-8; group middle was participants with SES between 9-15 and the high group consists of participants with SES between 16-24. For more on how this variable was initially scored i.e. how the participants attained between 0-24 for more, see section 7.6.1.

<sup>62</sup> The low group consists of participants with mean grades between 0-4.9; the middle group refers to participants with mean grades between 5-8.9; and the high group consists of participants with mean grades between 9-12.

<sup>63</sup> The low group consists of participants with English grades (both written and oral) between -3-5.9 (-3 is the lowest grade in the Danish grade system); the middle group consists of participants with English grades 5-7.9; and the high group with participants grade 8-12.

<sup>64</sup> Receptive exposure English/Danish/L1 as well as productive use English/Danish/L1 are divided into two categories: High="as much as I can"/"very often"; and low/middle= "once in a while"/"seldom"/"never".

<b>L1 home use (only plurilinguists)<sup>65</sup></b>	Low: 14.97% High: 85.03%
<b>L1 literacy (only plurilinguists)</b>	Yes: 70.75% No: 29.25%
<b>L1 instruction (only plurilinguists)</b>	Yes: 44.26% No: 56.74%
<b>Self-assessment L1 (only plurilinguists)<sup>66</sup></b>	low: 10.88% Intermediate: 38.76% high: 50.34%
<b>Self-assessment L2 (only plurilinguists)</b>	low: 1.35% Intermediate: 7.48% high: 91.16%
<b>Receptive exposure Danish</b>	Low/middle: 100% High: 0% Low/middle: 2.04% High: 97.96%
<b>Productive use Danish</b>	Low/middle: 98.82% High: 1.18% Low/middle: 0.68% High: 99.32%

Table 3. Raw data – results of the participants' answers in the questionnaire in percentage

As can be seen from the table the numbers show a great difference between the monolinguals and the plurilinguists in terms of SES, academic achievement and English grades.

The raw scores show that 50% of the monolinguals have high socio-economic status, while only 3.47% of the plurilinguists have high SES. This is interesting in light of the results from the

<sup>65</sup> L1 home use is divided into two categories: High="all the time"/"half the time"; and low= "once in a while"/"very seldom"/"never".

<sup>66</sup> The three categories low, intermediate and high are generated from the participants' answers (1-10). This goes for self-assessment L1 and self-assessment L2. The low group consist of participants with score 0-3; intermediate 4-7; high: 8-10.

statistical analysis (see sections below) showing that the monolinguals outperformed the plurilinguals on the English test; i.e., indicating that SES is an essential variable when assessing students' English proficiency skills.

This significant difference between the monolinguals and plurilinguals is also illustrated in the two tables below (Table 4 and 5); these tables show a comparison of the demographic characteristics (age, SES, and sex) of the samples and subsamples, grouped by linguistic background (for details regarding the statistical tests used see section 7.8.1 which provides an overview of quantitative analyses).

Condition	Monolingual ( <i>n</i> = 85)		Plurilingual ( <i>n</i> = 147)		Comparison		
	<i>M</i>	( <i>SD</i> )	$\mu$	( <i>SD</i> )	<i>Df</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>P value</i>
Age	14.88	(.521)	14.95	(.541)	<i>df</i> = 1	<i>Z</i> = 1.006,	<i>p</i> = .314
SES	15.76	(6.567)	9.08	(4.197)	<i>df</i> = 1	<i>Z</i> = 7.314,	<i>p</i> = .000
	<i>N</i>	(%)	<i>n</i>	(%)			
Sex ( <i>n</i> / % female)	45	(52.9)	68	(45.9)	<i>df</i> = 1	$\chi^2$ = 1.058,	<i>p</i> = .304

Table 4. Demographic characteristics for the groups ( $\mu$ , mean; *SD*, standard deviation; *n*, sample size; *Z*, *Z* statistic;  $\chi^2$ , chi-square statistic; *df*, degrees of freedom; *p*, *p* value)

Note: As the variables age and SES were not normally distributed, the non-parametric Mann-Whitney test was used which is equivalent to an independent t-test.

Condition	Monolingual ( <i>n</i> = 85)		Plurilingual (non-Turks) ( <i>n</i> = 113)		Plurilingual (Turks) ( <i>n</i> = 34)		Comparison		
	M	( <i>SD</i> )	μ	( <i>SD</i> )	μ	( <i>SD</i> )	<i>Df</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>P value</i>
Age	14.88	5.521	15	0.535	14.79	0.538	<i>df</i> = 2	<i>H</i> = 5.300,	<i>p</i> = .071
SES	15.76	6.567	9.17	4.287	8.79	3.927	<i>df</i> = 2	<i>H</i> = 53.668,	<i>p</i> = .000
	<i>N</i>	(%)	<i>N</i>	(%)	<i>N</i>	(%)			
Sex ( <i>n</i> / % female)	45	(52.9)	57	(50.4)	11	(31.4)	<i>df</i> = 2	<i>X</i> <sup>2</sup> = 4.926,	<i>p</i> = .085

Table 5. *Demographic* characteristics for the subgroups ( $\mu$ , mean; *SD*, standard deviation; *n*, sample size; *H*, *H* statistic; *X*<sup>2</sup>, chi-square statistic; *df*, degrees of freedom; *p*, *p* value)

Note: As the variables age and SES were not normally distributed, the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test was used which is equivalent to a one-way ANOVA. Follow-up non-parametric Mann-Whitney tests showed that monolinguals belonged to a higher SES than plurilingual non-Turks ( $Z = 6.841$ ,  $p = .000$ ); and monolinguals belonged to a higher SES than plurilingual Turks ( $Z = 5.107$ ,  $p = .000$ ). Plurilingual non-Turks and plurilingual Turks did not differ with respect to SES ( $Z = .486$ ,  $p = .627$ ).

Returning to Table 3, we see that monolinguals and plurilinguals similarly differ greatly when considering academic achievement and English grade. It could be argued that these results would have been expected given that the monolinguals scored higher than the plurilinguals on the English tests. Thus, it may be that general high school proficiency is related to high English proficiency and hence the high scores on the English test.

The variables receptive exposure to English and productive use of English on the other hand showed no significant difference between the plurilinguals and the monolinguals; possibly indicating that either the participants did not have a realistic grasp of what is considered genuine exposure to English as well as productive use of it, or else these variables simply show that the participants' English test scores are not related to these variables in any way. What is also interesting is the plurilingual groups' exposure to their L1 as well as productive use of L1. While the plurilinguals' productive use of their L1 is low (100%), the majority (98.64%) claim high exposure to their L1. This is in particular interesting in light of the plurilinguals' lower English scores relative to the monolinguals' English test scores and the assumption that plurilinguals/bilinguals are superior in their L3 relative to monolinguals as long as they have a high threshold (Cummins, 2000) of competence in their L1 and L2 (assuming that those who have a high threshold in their L1 are exposed to the language often and also use it relatively frequently). This idea is further highlighted when looking at the variable L1 use at home where 85% belong to the high group indicating that they use it all the time/half the time. These results once more reflect the complexity of the data; the majority of the plurilinguals claim high exposure to their L1 (also their use at home), but given their low productive use it may indicate that they have not developed a high enough proficiency level to use it productively given that output is more challenging than comprehension (output hypothesis<sup>67</sup>). Nevertheless, these conclusions should be drawn cautiously.

The variable L1 literacy is interesting given that the majority of the plurilinguals (70.75%) claim to be literate in their L1. As we have seen previously, L1 literacy skills may contribute to more advanced L3 skills – possibly also due to the learners' threshold being high in their L1. However, as we will come to learn later, the L1 literate plurilinguals proved not to display advantageous behaviour in terms of their L3 (English), but actually scored a little bit lower than the L1 illiterate plurilinguals (we will look into this in the next sections). The variable L1 instruction showed that a little more than half the plurilinguals (56.74%) had participated in mother tongue instruction:

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<sup>67</sup> See section 3.1.

however, this number does not tell us much given that it is hard to tell how serious these classes have been and whether the participants have in fact benefited from them. The variables self-assessment L1 and L2 for the plurilinguals are interesting since the numbers could indicate that a great portion of the plurilinguals feels more connected or at least feel more proficient in their L2 (Danish) relative to their L1. This is also somewhat related to the variables receptive exposure to Danish and productive use of Danish where almost all of the plurilinguals (97.6% and 99.32%) belong to the high group in contrast to the monolinguals where almost all of the participants are in the low group (100% and 98.82%). These results are rather interesting since it may have been assumed that the monolinguals who showed more superior English skills would also read and write more in Danish and hence those skills would be transferred to English. However, since the plurilinguals reported using Danish more frequently (reading, writing etc.) it may indicate that the variables do not say much about either their English proficiency or their academic achievement given that plurilinguals both had lower mean grades as well as lower English test scores. Moreover, the results of the variables receptive exposure to Danish and productive use of Danish may indicate that the plurilinguals had more receptive exposure and productive use of Danish, but only in terms of the categories mentioned in the questionnaire and not in terms of their overall exposure to Danish and productive use of Danish<sup>68</sup>. Besides, the results may point to the fact that other questions – such as their use of social media in Danish and the amount they communicate with friends and family in Danish – may have been relevant to include to get a more accurate results of these variables.

In the next section we will examine the descriptive statistics in form of mean and standard deviation for all of the participants in terms of key variables; this is summarized in Table 6 below.

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<sup>68</sup> For question asked in questionnaire see Appendix A section 7 and 8; and Appendix B section 15 and 16.



Variable	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Min.	Max.
Vocabulary test score	233	16.03	6.63	2	29
Reading test score	233	14.72	6.88	0	30
Total score on both tests	233	30.75	12.68	3.00	59.00
Age	232	14.93	0.53	13	17
SES	228	11.54	6.11	3	24
Motivation	232	31.32	5.57	3	40
Academic achievement	215	7.03	2.29	1.10	12.00
English grades	224	7.34	3.12	-3.0	12.0
Receptive exposure English	232	12.68	3.57	3.0	23.0
Productive use English	232	8.96	4.69	0	23
Receptive exposure L1	147	6.29	4.06	0	21
Productive use L1	147	7.65	3.94	0	18
Receptive exposure Danish	232	10.00	3.45	2	20
Productive use Danish	231	8.01	3.30	0	20
L1 literacy	147	1.29	0.46	1	2
L1 home use	147	3.25	0.83	1	4
Self-assessment L1	147	7.11	2.24	2	10
Self-assessment L2	147	9.07	1.62	1	10
Self-assessment English	146	7.03	2.16	1	10

Table 6. *Mean and standard deviations for variables of interest*

This table shows to a certain degree the great differences between the participants with respect to the various variables (i.e., the range is wide for the most part). For instance, it is interesting to look at the numbers indicating a great gap between the participants who scored the lowest on the vocabulary test (2 points out of 30) and reading test (0 points out of 30) relative to the participants who had the highest scores (29 points out of 30) and reading test (30 points out of 30). Indeed, the SD (standard deviation) for all of the variables shows that there is a relatively wide gap between the students in each of the ends except for age (SD = 0.53).

In the next sections we will move further with the statistical analysis looking at ANOVA tests, comparing the vocabulary scores by groups and subgroups, correlates of the vocabulary test, as well as a multiple regression analysis to assess predictors of the vocabulary test.

### ***7.8.1. Overview of quantitative analyses***

The vocabulary test was analysed as the primary outcome variable of interest, since this type of test is often used to index general English proficiency (e.g. Albrechtsen et al., 2008).

All dependent variables or the residuals of statistical models (e.g., ANOVA and multiple regression) were checked with Q-Q plots and the Shapiro-Wilk test to examine whether their distribution was normal. Examination of such scores showed that the distribution of some variables deviated from a normal distribution. In these cases, non-parametric tests were used to perform the analyses (e.g., the Mann-Whitney test, the Kruskal-Wallis test and the Spearman's Rank Correlation test). In some rare cases, if the residuals of statistical models did not substantially deviate from normality a parametric test was used (e.g., ANOVA).

Demographic variables (presented in Table 4 and Table 5 above) including age, and SES of the samples (monolinguals and plurilinguals) and subsamples (monolinguals, plurilingual Turks and plurilingual non-Turks) were compared using the non-parametric, Mann-Whitney test (equivalent to an independent t-test) and the Kruskal-Wallis test (equivalent to a one-way ANOVA) and the Chi Squared test.

A one-way ANOVA was utilized to compare monolinguals and plurilinguals on the vocabulary test. Likewise, a one-way ANOVA was used to compare scores on the vocabulary test for plurilingual Turks, plurilingual non-Turks and monolinguals, followed up by pairwise ANOVA comparisons. Finally, a one-way ANOVA was used to compare scores on the vocabulary test for plurilinguals who have L1 literacy skills, plurilinguals who have no L1 literacy, and monolinguals, followed up by pairwise ANOVA comparisons.

A non-parametric Spearman's Rank Correlation test was used to examine correlates of the English vocabulary test; and explore correlations of interest (displayed in a correlation matrix). Key correlates of the English vocabulary test were entered into a multiple regression model to investigate independent predictors of this outcome variable.

### 7.8.2. Comparing the vocabulary test scores by group (monolinguals versus plurilinguals) using ANOVA

A one-way ANOVA was used to compare monolinguals and plurilinguals on the vocabulary test. Residuals of the model were normally distributed. The ANOVA showed that monolinguals performed significantly better on the vocabulary test compared to the plurilinguals ( $F_{1,231} = 46.720$ ,  $p = .000$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .168$ )<sup>69</sup>, Figure 3.

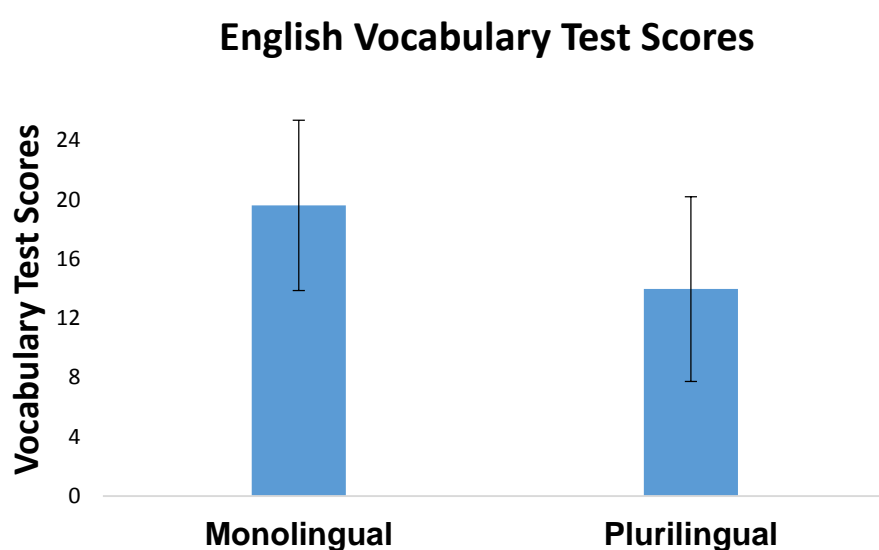


Figure 4. Vocabulary test scores for monolinguals and plurilinguals.

Note: Error bars represents Standard Deviations.

### 7.8.3. Comparing the vocabulary test scores by subgroup (monolinguals versus plurilingual Turks versus plurilingual non-Turks) using ANOVA

A one-way ANOVA was used to compare scores on the vocabulary test for Turks, plurilingual non-Turks and monolinguals, followed up by pairwise ANOVA comparisons. Residuals of the overall ANOVA model were normally distributed and the residuals of the pairwise ANOVA comparisons

<sup>69</sup> For the sake of consistency across analyses, a one-way ANOVA was utilized instead of an independent samples t-test in this case. An ANOVA is mathematically related to the t-test. In the current analysis they yield similar p values, and the F statistic is simply the t statistic squared. Thus, the t value for this analysis is  $t = 6.835$  which is  $F = 6.835^2$  (i.e., F squared) or  $F = 46.720$

were either normally distributed or deviated only slightly from normality. The ANOVA showed that plurilingual Turks, plurilingual non-Turks and monolinguals differed significantly on the vocabulary test ( $F_{2,230} = 26.877$ ,  $p = .000$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .189$ ), Figure 4.

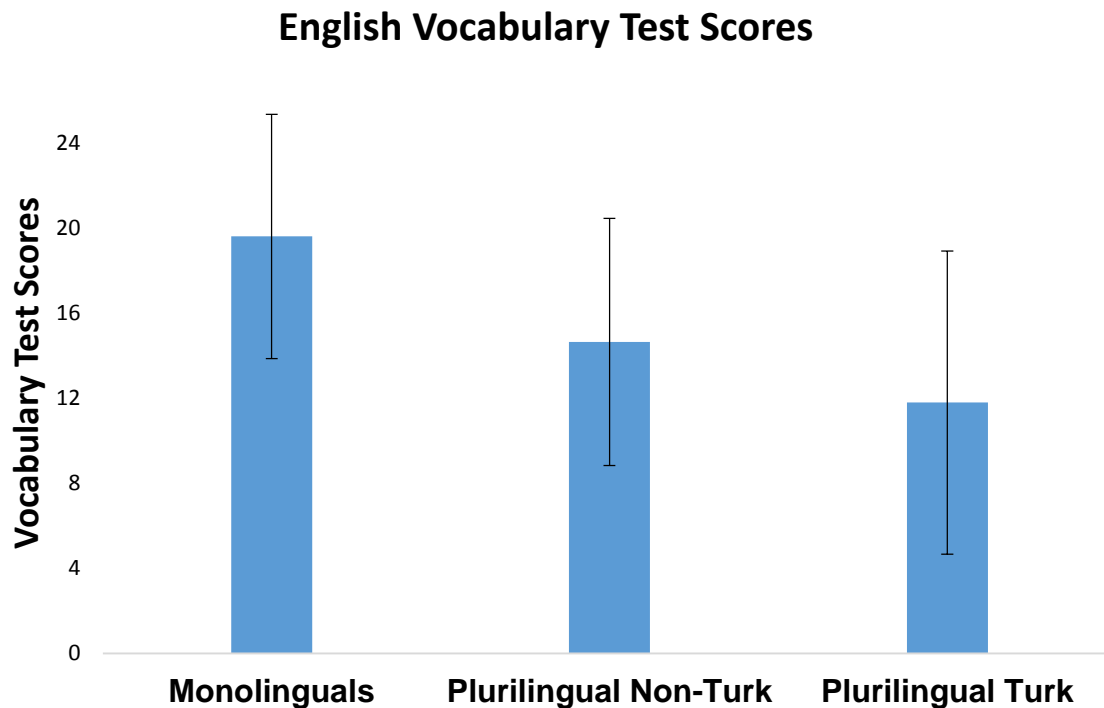


Figure 5. Vocabulary test scores for monolinguals, plurilinguals non-Turks and plurilingual Turks

Note: Error bars represents Standard Deviations.

In pairwise ANOVA comparisons, the monolinguals were found to perform better on the vocabulary test than plurilingual non-Turks ( $F_{1,196} = 35.827$ ,  $p = .000$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .155$ ) and the monolinguals performed better than the plurilingual Turks ( $F_{1,118} = 39.691$ ,  $p = .000$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .252$ ), and the plurilingual non-Turks performed better than the plurilingual Turks ( $F_{1,146} = 5.744$ ,  $p = .018$ ,  $\eta^2 = .038$ ).

#### 7.8.4. Comparing the vocabulary test scores by subgroup (plurilinguals who have L1 literacy skills versus plurilinguals who have no L1 literacy versus monolinguals) using ANOVA

A one-way ANOVA was used to compare scores on the vocabulary test for plurilinguals monolinguals, plurilinguals who have L1 literacy skills, plurilinguals who have no L1 literacy, followed up by pairwise ANOVA comparisons. Residuals of the overall ANOVA model were normally distributed and the residuals of the pairwise ANOVA comparisons were either normally distributed or deviated only slightly from normality. The ANOVA showed that monolinguals, plurilinguals who have L1 literacy skills, and plurilinguals who have no L1 literacy, differed significantly on the vocabulary test ( $F_{2,229} = 23.913$ ,  $p = .000$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .173$ ), Figure 5.

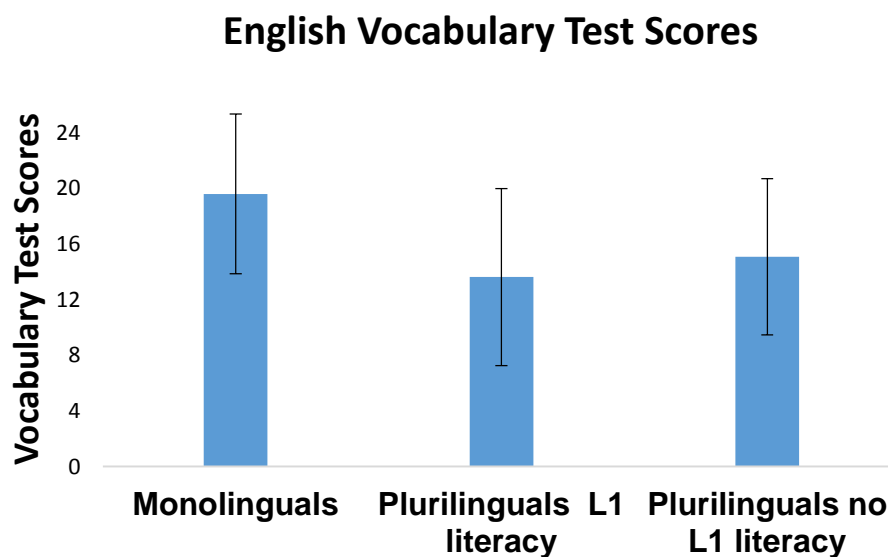


Figure 6. Vocabulary test scores for monolinguals, plurilinguals with L1 literacy and plurilinguals with no L1 literacy.

Note: Error bars represents Standard Deviations

In pairwise ANOVA comparisons, monolinguals performed better on the vocabulary test than plurilinguals who have L1 literacy skills ( $F_{1,187} = 45.076$ ,  $p = .000$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .194$ ), and monolinguals performed better on the vocabulary test than plurilinguals who have no L1 literacy

( $F_{1,126} = 17.945, p = .000, \eta^2 = .125$ ), however plurilinguists who have L1 literacy skills tended to perform worse on the vocabulary test than plurilinguists who have no L1 literacy ( $F_{1,145} = 1.726, p = .191, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .012$ ) (as the analysis revealed a nonsignificant trend).

#### ***7.8.5. Correlates of the vocabulary test***

Spearman's Rank Correlation tests were used to correlate variables of interest (see correlation matrix, Table 7). The correlation analyses showed that scores on the vocabulary test and reading test were highly correlated ( $\rho_s = .764, p = .000$ , Bonferroni corrected)<sup>70</sup>.

In addition to scores on the reading test, the following correlates of the vocabulary test scores remained statistically significant following a Bonferroni correction: SES ( $p = .000$ , Bonferroni corrected), linguistic background (monolinguals coded as 1 and plurilinguists as 2) ( $p = .000$ , Bonferroni corrected), motivation ( $p = .000$ , Bonferroni corrected), academic performance ( $p = .000$ , Bonferroni corrected), and receptive exposure to the English language ( $p = .000$ , Bonferroni corrected). Correlation coefficients are displayed in Table 7.

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<sup>70</sup> This finding is consistent with previous research (e.g. Laufer, 1997; Qian, 2002; Albrechtsen et al., 2008).

	Vocab. test	Read. test	Age	Sex	SES	Ling. back.	Mot.	Acad. ach.	Recep. Eng.	Prod. Eng.	Recep. L1	Prod. L1	Recep. Dan.	Prod. Dan.	L1 lit.
Read. test	.76**														
Age	-.05	-.08													
Sex	-.17	-.09	-.08												
SES	.46**	.54**	-.23	-.06											
Ling. back.	-.42**	-.49**	.07	-.07	-.49**										
Mot.	.30**	.14	.10	-.09	.02	.16									
Acad. ach.	.59**	.65**	-.13	-.06	.46**	-.32**	.11								
Recep. Eng.	.29**	.29**	-.09	.02	.07	.01	.40**	.31**							
Prod. Eng.	.21	.17	.0	-.12	-.09	.13	.54**	.09	.55**						
Recep. L1	-.25	-.30*	.01	.02	-.02	-	-.13	-.27	-.08	-.01					
Prod. L1	-.22	-.28	-.02	.06	-.06	-	-.11	-.19	.05	.12	.74**				
Recep. Dan.	-.03	-.09	-.05	.02	-.14	.24*	.22	.02	.37**	.34**	.17	.13			
Prod. Dan.	-.13	-.13	-.02	.04	-.08	.17	.08	-.09	.28*	.27*	.07	.14	.47**		
L1 lit.	.12	.18	.03	-.18	.01	-	-.01	.17	.07	.02	-.35*	-.44**	.06	.07	
L1 inst.	.19	.15	-.15	-.08	.11	-	.12	.01	.08	.20	-.32*	-.20	-.03	.01	.12

Table 7. *Spearman rank correlations for key variables*

*Note.* Vocab. test = vocabulary test score; Read. test = reading test score; Ling. back. = linguistic background (monolinguals coded as 1 and plurilinguals coded as 2); Mot. = motivation; Acad. ach. = academic achievement; Recep. Eng. = Receptive exposure English; Prod. Eng. = productive use English; Recep. L1 = receptive exposure L1; Prod. L1 = Productive use of L1; Recep. Dan. = Receptive exposure Danish; Prod. Dan. = Productive use Danish; L1 lit = L1 literacy; L1 inst. = L1 instruction. An asterisk (\*) denotes a statistically significant *p* value; i.e., \**p* < .05. \*\**p* < .001. (Bonferroni corrected *p* values). (†Missing correlations = -).

#### **7.8.6. Multiple regression analysis**

To examine which variables were predictive of high scores on the vocabulary test, significant correlates of the vocabulary test were entered into a multiple regression model (except for the reading test variable). The independent variables were therefore: (1) SES, (2) linguistic background, (3) motivation, (4) academic achievement and (5) receptive exposure to the English language. The residuals of the model were found to be normally distributed. Significant independent predictors of the vocabulary test scores (i.e., dependent variable) included: SES ( $\beta = .175, p = .006$ ), linguistic background (monolinguals coded as 1 and plurilinguals as 2) ( $\beta = -.236, p = .000$ ), motivation ( $\beta = .250, p = .000$ ), and academic performance ( $\beta = .372, p = .000$ ). Receptive exposure to the English language ( $\beta = .097, p = .085$ ) was a borderline independent predictor in the multiple regression model; i.e., it was near-significant (however, as noted above [per Table 7], Receptive exposure to English did correlate significantly with the vocabulary test when considered on its own outside the regression model). The overall regression model,  $F_{5,206} = 42.165, p = .000$ , accounted for 49.4% of the variance in the outcome variable (i.e., adjusted  $R^2 = .494$ ).

#### **7.8.7.. Summarizing the results**

In sum, the demographic analyses showed that the monolinguals and plurilinguals did not differ in their age and gender distribution, but that monolinguals had a significantly higher SES. Likewise, the subsamples (monolinguals, plurilinguals non-Turks and plurilingual Turks) only differed with respect to their SES. Follow-up analyses showed that monolinguals belonged to a higher SES than plurilingual non-Turks and plurilingual Turks. On the other hand, plurilingual non-Turks and plurilingual Turks did not differ with respect to their SES.

Moreover, the analyses showed that monolinguals performed significantly better on the English vocabulary test compared to the plurilinguals. When comparing the three subgroups, the analysis revealed that plurilingual Turks, plurilingual non-Turks and monolinguals differed with regard to their performance on the vocabulary test. Specifically, the monolinguals were found to outperform the plurilingual non-Turks and the plurilingual Turks. Similarly, the plurilingual non-Turks performed better than the plurilingual Turks on the vocabulary test. An ANOVA analysis showed that monolinguals, plurilinguals who have L1 literacy skills, and plurilinguals who have no L1 literacy differed significantly with regard to their performance on the vocabulary test. Specifically,



monolinguals performed better on the vocabulary test than plurilinguals who have L1 literacy skills and also better than plurilinguals who have no L1 literacy. Finally, plurilinguals who have L1 literacy skills tended to perform worse on the vocabulary test to plurilinguals who have no L1 literacy, as the analysis revealed a (nonsignificant) trend.

Correlational analyses showed that performance on the vocabulary test and reading test were highly correlated. Moreover, significant correlates of the vocabulary test included: SES, linguistic background, motivation, academic performance, and receptive exposure to the English language. A multiple regression analysis showed that high SES, linguistic background (being monolingual as opposed to plurilingual), being highly motivated, and being a high academic achiever, were all independent predictors of scoring highly on the English vocabulary test; and receptive exposure to the English language was a near-significant predictor of English vocabulary test scores (although the variable did correlate significantly with the vocabulary test when considered on its own outside the overall regression model; see Table 7).

### ***7.9. The qualitative study***

Based on existing research in the area of bilingualism and L3 proficiency, I initially hypothesized that the plurilingual participants would display more proficient skills in English as their L3 compared to their monolingual peers in English as their L2; and that plurilinguals who are literate in their L1, would have enhanced English skills compared to plurilinguals who are illiterate in their L1.

These hypotheses were not supported by the quantitative study. When looking at the overall results of the groups on the English tests, it showed that the monolingual participants scored higher than the plurilinguals and that the plurilinguals with L1 literacy skills scored lower than monolinguals and slightly lower than plurilinguals with no L1 literacy skills. However, when looking more carefully at the data – e.g. the standard deviation (see Table 7) – it appears that there is not only one pattern, and that the results are much more complex than such. Hence, examining plurilingual students with different English proficiency skills in a qualitative study might be a way to shed light on some of the results, and help us comprehend the data in more depth and aid in understanding its complexity. In this regard, to explore these results in further depth, a sub-study was carried out; here the objective was to examine plurilingual students with varying degrees of English proficiency

skills in order to comprehend their English proficiency. Hence, it was investigated whether a correlation exists between the plurilinguals' three languages; in addition, it was examined whether there were signs of the usage of translanguaging as a learning strategy amongst the plurilinguals in English class and whether this usage was connected to their level of proficiency in their three languages.

Therefore, 12 out of the 34 participants with Turkish L1 were selected for a qualitative study (see more on this in the next section 7.9.1.). As mentioned in section 7.3, it was decided to focus on plurilinguals with Turkish as their mother tongue or one of their mother tongues in order to be able to compare their proficiency in English and Danish with their proficiency in their mother tongue.

In the following section "results", I will initially present the 12 selected participants in terms of their English level (depending on their English test scores: *low*, *intermediate*, *high*), their demographic data and their scores on the English, Danish and Turkish test; all this will be commented on.

In order to validate the students' Turkish test scores and also to give a more complete picture of the students' Turkish skills, their communicative competence in Turkish was also measured via semi-structured interviews conducted in Turkish; and in this section, these results will be presented.

In order to further assess the participants' English skills but also validate their English test scores, a short oral reading comprehension assessment (based on excerpts from *The Great Gatsby*) was administered to confirm the students' level of English proficiency; here the results will be presented.

Hereafter, the results of the final assessment will be presented; this pertains to the assessment of the communicative competence in English of the students with the lowest scores via a short speaking session on topic of choice.

Subsequently, we will examine whether any of the variables used in the quantitative analysis play a significant role for these selected 12 participants in their English achievement by looking at their scores from the questionnaires derived from the quantitative study. That is, the students with low, intermediate and high English test scores will be compared in terms of their results from the questionnaires.

Next, we will investigate whether there are any differences between the students with regard to how they perceive their own language learning experience. This part of the study is based on questions

asked during the interviews supplemented with questions asked during observations in English class.

Hereafter, we will look at three case studies in an attempt to understand the complexity behind the students' English level. Here three students from each of the groups (*low*, *intermediate* and *high*) will be selected in order to investigate the differences between them on various aspects.

In the final section, a comparison across the students' levels will be made in order to detect the differences between them in terms of their language learning situations and the strategies they utilize in English class.

In addition, it should be noted that the quotations from the participants (except those from the English speaking sessions) are all my own translations from Danish to English. And while some students provided long, elaborate responses – during the interviews – others tended to be really brief. This is exemplified when looking at two extracts of the transcriptions based on the Danish interviews<sup>71</sup> in appendix H, section 1. In addition, the comments of the students used throughout this thesis can be found in transcribed form in appendix H. In addition, transcription of the entire interviews of the three participants forming the three case studies are included (i.e., in appendix H, section 2, 3 and 4).

The data discussed in relation to the 12 participants thus, stem from different sources: their English test scores and English grades (from the quantitative study) (see section 7.8), the additional English scores based on the qualitative study, their Turkish and Danish test scores based on the qualitative study. For description of the instruments used for the qualitative study along with the procedure and scoring of the results see section 7.1.-7.6. (method).

### **7.9.1. Results**

The criteria for the subject selection (12 participants) were the participants' test scores on the two English tests, as well as their mother tongues (from the quantitative analysis). The distribution of all of the students with Turkish L1's ( $n = 34$ ) English test scores was as follows: *low* (0-19): 15 students; *intermediate* (20-39): 15 students and *high* (40-60): 4 students<sup>72</sup>. When selecting the 12

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<sup>71</sup> For interview guide, see appendix C.

<sup>72</sup> The total score of both the vocabulary test and reading test was 60; hence, three groups were formed dividing the 60 points in approximately three: 0-19; 20-39; 40-60.

participants it was attempted to select the students from the furthest end (with the lowest scores as well as the highest scores) for the *high* and *low* group. As for the *intermediate* group it was attempted to select those placed “the most” in the middle in terms of their English scores<sup>73</sup>.

Another criterion for the selection of informants were whether the teachers and students were willing to continue the study. In one case, a teacher did not wish to continue and in another, a couple of teachers assessed that some of their students would be inappropriate to select since they, presumably, would not take the observations and the further activities seriously. For this reason, it was a bit more challenging to recruit participants with low English scores; it could be argued that those participants who – according to the teachers – would not take the further study seriously either have general low academic skills or might not be motivated to learn English.

Based on this, three plurilinguals with low scores, five with intermediate scores and four with high scores – all with Turkish L1 – were selected for the qualitative study.

Of the 12 selected students, five reported having both Turkish and Kurdish mother tongues; however, only two of these were exposed to both languages at home, whereas the other three were only exposed to Turkish (this will be elaborated on later). In addition, one student had both Turkish and Bosnian mother tongues, but felt he was much more proficient in Turkish than Bosnian.

The 12 participants were from four different schools, and some of them from the same class. The students will be referred to by pseudonyms in order to ensure their anonymity. Table 8 below, presents the 12 participants’ English level (*low*, *intermediate* and *high*), their demographic data and their scores on the English, Danish and Turkish test.

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<sup>73</sup> See more on this in section 7.6.1 (scoring Dialang).

**7.9.2. The 12 selected participants in terms of their English level (low, intermediate, high), their demographic data and scores on the English, Danish and Turkish test**

<i>Level</i>	<i>Participant</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Mother tongue languages</i>	<i>Score English test DIALANG Vocabulary + reading tests<sup>74</sup> (max.:60)</i>	<i>Score Danish test DIALANG Vocabulary + reading tests (max.:60)</i>	<i>Score Turkish test Telc (max.:35)</i>
<i>Low</i>	<b>Jasmina</b>	Female	15	Turkish	8	43	31
	<b>Leyla</b>	Female	15	Turkish and Kurdish <sup>75</sup>	12	41	21
	<b>Arina</b>	Female	15	Turkish	17	42	26
<i>Intermediate</i>	<b>Jamila</b>	Female	15	Turkish	23	43	33
	<b>Malik</b>	Male	15	Turkish and Kurdish <sup>76</sup>	27	43	13
	<b>Serhat</b>	Male	15	Turkish and Kurdish <sup>77</sup>	28	41	4
	<b>Ilias</b>	Male	14	Turkish	35	50	22
	<b>Furkan</b>	Male	14	Turkish and Kurdish <sup>78</sup>	36	50	7

<sup>74</sup> See more on scoring in method (chapter 6.6.1).

<sup>75</sup> Only exposed to Turkish at home.

<sup>76</sup> Only exposed to Turkish at home.

<sup>77</sup> Exposed to both Turkish and Kurdish at home.

<sup>78</sup> Only exposed to Turkish at home.

<b>High</b>	<b>Ayub</b>	Male	14	Turkish	40	53	23
	<b>Danyal</b>	Male	14	Turkish	42	48	29
	<b>Ayaz</b>	Male	15	Turkish and Kurdish <sup>79</sup>	44	49	18
	<b>Baris</b>	Male	15	Turkish and Bosnian <sup>80</sup>	47	50	9

Table 8. *The 12 participants' English level (based on their test scores), demographics and scores on the English, Danish and Turkish tests.*

As previously discussed, the students were divided into three groups (*low*, *intermediate* and *high*) according to their English test scores, and as can be seen from the table, some of the participants' English test scores are close despite the fact that they are placed in different groups; from the *intermediate* group, Furkan's English test scores (36) are close to the English test scores of Ayub (40), who is in the *high* group. Thus, the three groups could potentially have been formed differently if the cut off score had been selected at a different point.

With respect to *gender*, there appears to be a pattern in the table above. That is, the students with the lowest scores (the three from the *low* group and one from the *intermediate* group) are all female and the rest are all male. However, this could be argued as being a coincidence since the variable gender/sex, did not correlate with high scores on the English tests in the larger sample (i.e., the quantitative analysis)<sup>81</sup>. Put differently, although the students with the lowest scores in the qualitative study are all female, this does not indicate that there is a tendency towards the female gender being associated with low English achievements.

As is evident from Table 8, all 12 students are between 14-15 years of age; and while the students in the *low* group ( $n = 3$ ) in addition to the three from the *intermediate* group with the lowest English scores are all 15 years old, the four students who are 14 years old, are in the *high* group (Ayaz and Baris) and in the high end of the *intermediate* group (Ilias and Furkan). However, since the variable

<sup>79</sup> Exposed to both Turkish and Kurdish at home.

<sup>80</sup> Exposed to both Turkish and Bosnian at home.

<sup>81</sup> See section 7.8.5.

age was not associated with enhanced English skills in the quantitative analysis<sup>82</sup>, this pattern could simply be a coincidence as well.

As mentioned above – and as can be seen from Table 8 – five students (Leyla, Malik, Serhat, Furkan and Ayaz) reported having Turkish and Kurdish as their mother tongues. When asked to elaborate on how much they used – or were exposed to – each of the languages, Leyla, Malik and Furkan responded that they spoke Turkish at home most of the time in conjunction with Danish. The parents of these three students were able to speak both Kurdish and Turkish; however, in all three cases, one of the parents was more proficient in Turkish, wherefore the language of the household remained Turkish. Whereas Leyla claimed that she was never exposed to the Kurdish language and thus, was not able to understand it, Malik and Furkan stated that they were only exposed to a limited amount of Kurdish when visiting relatives or having guests, who only spoke Kurdish, and for that reason they were much more comfortable and proficient in Turkish compared to Kurdish; but they were, nevertheless, able to speak Kurdish at a very basic level.

As for the two other students (Serhat and Ayaz), who also reported Turkish and Kurdish being their mother tongues, they were exposed to a greater amount of the Kurdish language at home relative to the former three students. Ayaz reported being exposed to both languages at home, and often a mixture of the languages; when asked how proficient he felt in the two languages he responded: *I feel equally proficient in Turkish and Kurdish...but maybe a bit more in Turkish*<sup>83</sup>. Serhat – as the only one of the five with Turkish and Kurdish mother tongues – reported that he felt more proficient in Kurdish compared to Turkish. Accordingly, his parents were able to speak both languages and have spoken Kurdish the majority of the time mixed with a bit of Turkish. In addition, Serhat noted: *A lot of my relatives do not speak Kurdish, so that is when we speak Turkish*<sup>84</sup>. He also added that they had watched a lot of Turkish television at home while growing up.

One participant (Baris) reported having Turkish and Bosnian mother tongues. He said he had been exposed to both languages at home while growing up despite parents not being able to speak each other's languages. In this regard, he spoke Bosnian when he was alone with his mother and Turkish when he was alone with his father, and Danish when they were together. When asked how

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<sup>82</sup> See section 7.8.5

<sup>83</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 5.

<sup>84</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 6.

proficient he felt in each of the languages he responded: *I would say I feel like 90% proficient in Turkish and 70% proficient in Bosnian*<sup>85</sup>.

### **7.9.3. The participants' English, Danish and Turkish proficiency**

When looking at the 12 participants' test scores (i.e., from the quantitative data) in English, Danish and Turkish some interesting patterns emerge. For instance, in terms of their Danish scores, the gaps between the three groups are not very clear; in fact, the participants in the *low* group have scored around the same as the students from the bottom part of the *intermediate* group (Jamila, Malik and Serhat). The rest of the students in the *intermediate* group (Ilias and Furkan) scored around the same as the *high* group students. Nevertheless, it is interesting that the difference between the students' Danish scores is not that great seeing that the highest score is 53 (Ayub) and the lowest is 41 (Leyla) out of a maximum of 60; hence all 12 students scored above average. This stands in contrast to the great dissimilarities between the students vis-à-vis their English scores: 8 (Jasmina) versus 47 (Baris) out of a maximum of 60. When asked how they felt about Danish in general and for instance writing in Danish they all reported feeling comfortable with both speaking and writing in Danish which is obviously also reflected in their Danish test scores.

Turning to the participants' Turkish scores a different pattern appears. Here having one or two mother tongues and the amount of exposure to each of the languages seem to play a role for the students' Turkish test scores. Overall, the students with two mother tongues (Turkish + Kurdish/Bosnian) scored lower on the Turkish test. This is especially evident when looking at Serhat's Turkish scores, which are the lowest (4); however, this result may not be very surprising given his statements about Kurdish being the language his parents used the majority of the time and that he felt more proficient in Kurdish relative to Turkish. Thus, on the one hand, one could argue against his inclusion in the final sample of the 12 selected students with Turkish L1; on the other hand, including a participant like him – with Turkish being one of his L1s – adds to the complexity which, nevertheless, is a more realistic picture of language use in the real world where utilization of mixed languages in the household is part of everyday communication.

It appears as though the students' Turkish scores are negatively impacted when they experience less exposure to the Turkish language at home, that is, in cases where the students have both Turkish

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<sup>85</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 7.



and Kurdish mother tongues; and are exposed to both at home. This can – for instance – be supported by the fact that Leyla – who is only exposed to Turkish, although she claims Kurdish is also her mother tongue – had the highest Turkish scores among the students with Turkish + Kurdish/Bosnian mother tongues. Generally, it can be concluded that the students’ English test scores do not correlate with their Turkish test scores when looking at the raw data (test results); this is emphasized by Jasmina’s results since she attained one of the highest scores on the Turkish test and the lowest scores on the English test (out of all 12 students). These test results and the lack of correlation might appear to be contrary to many of the international research studies – we have looked at earlier – which show that bilinguals, who are proficient in their L1 and L2 (upper threshold), will display enhanced L3 skills and bilinguals, who have low skills in either their L1 or L2 (or both), appear to underperform in their L3 (Cummins, 2000). However, these test scores cannot be interpreted on their own; that is, a number of other factors also play a role, which I will try to illuminate in sections below.

In addition, it should be noted that the type of language used in official tests may differ significantly from the type of language many plurilinguals have acquired from home, which might be more characteristic of an “everyday language”. Thus, although the Telc Turkish test – which was administered – was categorized as a general proficiency test, additional assessment of the students’ communicative competence could contribute to an overall picture of the students’ Turkish skills, and at the same time, function as validation of the students’ scores on the Turkish test.

Thus, a partial assessment of the students’ Turkish communicative competence was carried out via 10 minutes long semi-structured interviews in Turkish<sup>86</sup> (audio-taped). As previously mentioned, communicative competence is comprised of a number of components, and in this part of the study, focus will only be on the measurement of their *linguistic competence*, *discourse competence*, *strategic competence* and *fluency* (Hedge, 2000).

As previously mentioned, the scoring of these four dimensions of communicative competence will be based on the students’ accuracy in choice of words, syntax and morphology; their ability to speak coherently; their ability to use strategies when for instance in need of words they lack in their vocabulary while speaking; and finally, their ability to link words and apply grammar rules without hesitation<sup>87</sup>.

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<sup>86</sup> For interview guide see appendix D; for information regarding method of the interview see section 7.2.4.

<sup>87</sup> For more on assessment of the Turkish interview and communicative competence, see section 7.6.4

In the following section we will examine the results derived from the communicative competence assessment (Turkish interviews); we will start by looking at Table 9 below which summarizes the students' scores (high, intermediate, low) based on the assessment of the participants' four competences mentioned above.

<i><b>Participant</b></i>	<i><b>Turkish test scores (Telc) (max.:35)</b></i>	<i><b>Linguistic competence</b></i>	<i><b>Discourse competence</b></i>	<i><b>Strategic competence</b></i>	<i><b>Fluency</b></i>
<b>Jamila</b>	33	High	High	High	High
<b>Jasmina</b>	31	High	High	High	High
<b>Danyal</b>	29	High	High	High	High
<b>Arina</b>	26	High	High	High	High
<b>Ayub</b>	23	Intermediate	Intermediate	High	High
<b>Ilias</b>	22	Intermediate	High	High	High
<b>Leyla</b>	21	High	High	High	High
<b>Ayaz</b>	18	Intermediate	Intermediate	Intermediate	High
<b>Malik</b>	13	Intermediate	High	High	High
<b>Baris</b>	9	Intermediate	Intermediate	High	High
<b>Furkan</b>	7	Low	Low	Low	Low
<b>Serhat</b>	4	Low	Low	Low	Low

Table 9. *The students, results based on the assessment of their Turkish communicative competence comprising: linguistic competence, discourse competence, strategic competence and fluency together with their Turkish test scores (Telc).*

As can be seen from Table 9 above, the students' results from the Turkish communicative competence assessment conducted via semi-structured interviews – to a certain degree – correlate with their Turkish test scores, and thus are validating the latter.

The table shows that the *low* group students (those with the lowest scores in the English test), Jasmina, Leyla and Arina, in addition to the bottom student of the *intermediate* group (Jamila) and the *high* group student, Danyal, all excelled on the four parameters of the communicative competence assessment. This correlates with their Turkish test scores – that are among the highest. These five students spoke confidently, almost flawlessly with a great vocabulary size given their relatively young age.

The students' fluency in Turkish was generally high except for Serhat and Furkan from the *intermediate* group who also scored low on the Turkish test. As mentioned above, these two students reported having both Turkish and Kurdish mother tongues with limited exposure to Turkish which might explain these results; especially in terms of Serhat, who stated that his parents spoke primarily Kurdish mixed with some Turkish. However, it is up for debate why Serhat did not utilize his knowledge of Kurdish during the interview; this is based on the fact that – although the Kurdish and Turkish language are not related – there are some loan words/cognates in the two languages, and had he just activated his entire linguistic repertory of skills, he might have been able to answer some of the questions more efficiently. This may offer support to the fact that many Danish schools neglect encouraging students to utilize their entire linguistic repertory of skills in language class (we will discuss this later). During the interviews, both Serhat and Furkan had great difficulties finding the right Turkish words as well as forming even simple sentences. They both had troubles understanding some of the questions, and in many cases, responded in Danish since they were unable to find the right words in Turkish.

The participants Malik, Ilias, Ayub, Ayaz and Baris displayed overall fine Turkish communicative skills, which correlates with their Turkish test scores; Baris and Malik, on the other hand, performed much more proficient on the communicative competence assessment compared to what they did on the Turkish test. When asked how they felt about the Turkish test, both responded that they found it very difficult and that they could not understand many of the words, and that they were not accustomed to reading in Turkish. Malik commented: *there were too many difficult words, and then I have to translate it into Danish in order to understand it*<sup>88</sup>. While both had difficulties with the

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<sup>88</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 14.

vocabulary in the Turkish test, neither of them had troubles understanding the questions asked during the communicative competence assessment as well as finding the correct words when providing answers.

Hence, this may support the fact that some plurilinguals may only have acquired a vocabulary sufficient for home-use, which might be more characteristic of an “everyday language”; such language would not do well on an official test. What is also noticeable about Malik’s response pertains to his comments about having to translate the Turkish in the test into Danish in order to understand it; this may indicate that he is Danish dominant, and later we will learn that he is not the only one who could appear to be just that.

Similar to how the Turkish communicative assessment was used to validate the participants’ Turkish test scores, a short oral reading comprehension assessment (The Great Gatsby) was administered to confirm the students’ level of English proficiency (*low*, *intermediate* and *high*); i.e., previously established through the DIALANG test. This was included to assess the 12 selected participants’ reading comprehension skills in what could be assumed was a less stressful situation<sup>89</sup>. As previously stated, the students were asked to provide a summary of the blurb of the novel “The Great Gatsby” subsequent to reading it<sup>90</sup>. The students’ assessments were based on their overall comprehension of the text<sup>91</sup>. Moreover, a further objective of this assessment was to identify whether the students made use of translanguaging as a cognitive strategy when trying to comprehend the text and providing a summary; this was assessed via short retrospective reports from the students where they were asked how they had approached the text and how they handled the text when facing words they did not comprehend.

It may be interpreted as though this assessment more or less confirmed the students’ English test scores and the levels (*low*, *intermediate* and *high*) they were placed on in terms of their approach to the text. In general, all students except for Danyal from the *high* group, found the text rather difficult, and struggled with providing a summary of the text.

What seems to be a pattern amongst the students pertains to their approach to the text. The less proficient students from the *low* group appeared to utilize bottom-up strategies<sup>92</sup>, and hence, stayed

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<sup>89</sup> See more on method in section 7.2.6; and more on scoring chapter 7.6.5.

<sup>90</sup> For the whole text (the blurb of The Great Gatsby) see appendix E.

<sup>91</sup> Transcriptions of all the 12 assessments (in full length) can be found in Appendix I (i.e. all examples used in this section can be found in Appendix I)

<sup>92</sup> Bottom-up and top-down strategies will be explained further down.

at the word level, struggling to decode the difficult words, and thus, never moved to a level where they could decode the meaning of the whole text. In contrast, the more proficient students (Jamila, Malik, Serhat, Ilias and Furkan from the *intermediate* group and Danyal and Baris from the *high* group) tended to utilize both bottom-up and top-down strategies, and attempted to focus more on the overall comprehension of the text. However, only Danyal's summary was somewhat complete. The others attempted to provide summaries, but appeared to have misunderstood the text; e.g., gave incorrect summaries; for instance Serhat commented: *I think it is about a man who does not see reality quite clear. He is in war with himself*; finally some students only provided fragments of a summary.

Ayub and Ayaz from the *high* group reported that a few difficult words affected the whole meaning of the text; thus, they similarly attempted to use a top-down strategy, but failed in providing summaries due to their lack of knowledge of some keywords.

Nonetheless, the *low* group students had trouble comprehending key words and generally found the sentence structures too advanced. For instance, the majority of the students did not understand the word "post-war" which is a key word in the text, giving us an indication of the time era; instead, they reported that the text was about a period of war. For instance, Jasmina reported: *it is really difficult. But it says something about a war (...) and it says something about him having a dream (...) and then it says something about pictures of the reality. I don't know. I couldn't understand anymore, there are too many difficult words.*

Furkan from the *intermediate* group was affected by his knowledge of the Film he had seen based on the book, and thus, included elements from the film. When asked to only keep it to the text, his understanding of it appeared limited and he was unable to provide a summary as well.

When asked how they approached the text and whether they made use of Danish in the comprehension process a pattern emerged: the students in the *low* group together with Jamila, Malik, Serhat and Furkan from the *intermediate* group reported trying to translate the text into Danish in their heads in order to comprehend it. By contrast, the *high* group students along with Ilias from the *intermediate* group reported trying to understand the text in English.

Jasmina, Leyla and Arina claimed that they would need a dictionary to translate the majority of the words into Danish, and when asked what they would do if they did not understand the Danish equivalent, they responded that they would try to use a Turkish dictionary. While all students

claimed they would look up words if they were to really try to understand the text, the *low* group students along with Jamila from the *intermediate* group together with Danyal and Ayaz from the *high* group reported that they would consider using a Turkish dictionary if they did not understand the Danish equivalents to the English words they looked up.

In general, the less proficient students differed from the more proficient students in the strategies they used, and while the low group students struggled at word level, the more proficient students attempted to crack the code of the overall meaning of the text. However, the text appears to have been too difficult, and even the more proficient students had difficulties providing a fulfilling and coherent summary of the text; only Danyal from the *high* group managed to provide a relatively fulfilling summary.

A final assessment of the students with the lowest scores, pertained to their English communicative competence. Here short speaking sessions on topic of choice in English were administered for the *low* group students along with the bottom student of the *intermediate* group (Jamila). As previously mentioned – and in line with the oral reading comprehension assessment, the measurement was carried out in order to include speaking in what was assumed to be a non-stressful situation and possibly get a deeper insight into these students’ general (low) English proficiency skills.

The scoring criteria were similar to those of the Turkish communicative competence assessment; therefore, the students were assessed in terms of their *linguistic competence*, *discourse competence*, *strategic competence* and *fluency*<sup>93</sup> (Hedge, 2000).

Table 10 below summarizes the students’ scores (high, intermediate, low) based on the assessment of the participants’ four competences just mentioned.

	<i>Participant</i>	<i>Linguistic competence</i>	<i>Discourse competence</i>	<i>Strategic competence</i>	<i>Fluency</i>	<i>English test scores DIALANG (max:60)</i>
	<b>Jasmina</b>	Low	Intermediate	Intermediate	Low	8

<sup>93</sup> See section 7.2.7 and 7.6.6.

<b>Low</b>	<b>Leyla</b>	Low	Intermediate	Intermediate/ High	Intermediate	12
	<b>Arina</b>	Low	Intermediate	Intermediate/ High	Intermediate	17
<b>Intermediate</b>	<b>Jamila</b>	Low/ Intermediate	Intermediate	Intermediate/ High	Intermediate	23

Table 10. Shows the four students with lowest English scores' results based on the assessment of their English communicative competence comprising linguistic competence, discourse competence, strategic competence and fluency together along with their English test scores (DIALANG).

Table 10 above shows that all *low* group students had low linguistic skills, which could be argued correlate with their scores on the English proficiency test<sup>94</sup>. These three students made systematic errors and had a generally very limited vocabulary at their disposal. This was particularly the case for Jasmina, who was struggling to find words and form even simple sentences: *I like.. at være sammen med my friends because we talk and are going to the park*<sup>95</sup>. She had difficulties understanding simple words such as “couple”: **Interviewer:** *do you know what a **couple** is?* **Jasmina:** *no*<sup>96</sup>. In general, the assessment emphasized her weak linguistic competence. Arina and Leyla had slightly larger vocabularies at their disposal, but had difficulties forming correct sentences. For instance Arina stated: *So they fall in love, but the girl say the aunt say to me, so it is a problem*<sup>97</sup>. Similarly Leyla had troubles forming correct sentences: *it's about a man ehh there are writer and he single, but he found girl he likes. But the girl has cancer. So when the girl die and the man cry and..yeah*<sup>98</sup>.

However, despite their limited vocabulary – especially Jasmina – and struggle with forming sentences, all three students were slightly more proficient with respect to discourse competence and a bit more with regards to strategic competence, as they would use both *reduction* and *compensation*. An example of this is when Jasmina states: *The vampire and the girl had a ...*

<sup>94</sup> Transcriptions of the assessments are to be found in full length in appendix J.

<sup>95</sup> For transcription see Appendix J, section 1

<sup>96</sup> For transcription see Appendix J, section 1

<sup>97</sup> For transcription see Appendix J, section 3

<sup>98</sup> For transcription see Appendix J, section 2.

[thinking] *love*. Here Jasmina most likely wanted to say a “relationship”<sup>99</sup>, but could not find the word; and instead of simply uttering the word in Danish, she compensated for it by calling it “love”.

Jamila from the *intermediate* group, displayed slightly larger vocabulary, but similarly to the others, she had difficulties forming correct sentences; she had in particular problems with grammar: *Ehh play football. I like to play football and watch football. It's me. There is not girls from my class that likes to go out and play, they like to do new makeup*<sup>100</sup>. Nevertheless, the errors which the *low* group students made were to some extent more serious and thus, their sentences were somewhat more difficult to understand in comparison to Jamila's sentences. Thus, her results generally correlate with her English test scores.

A couple of interesting incidents occurred which involved a student utilizing translinguaging as a language practise; this occurred when Arina – supposedly – tried to keep her speech fluent; she utilized her Turkish when she could not find the words in English. The following are some examples extracted from a summary of a movie she liked: *the woman worked as a **gason** in a restaurant*<sup>101</sup>. Here Arina did not hesitate to say “gason” which means waiter in Turkish, and the sentence was uttered rather fluently; however, her intonation altered when she pronounced the word “gason”, possibly indicating that she knows that it is not an English word, and that she prefers to keep the conversation fluent. Although “gason” may be a loanword from French (**garçon**), it appeared that she did not know this, which fits the fact that her second foreign language in school was German and not French. In another example, she stated: *the man had a **yenge***<sup>102</sup>. In the same manner, her intonation changed, possibly signifying that she knows that “yenge” – which means aunt in Turkish – is not an English word. What seems to be interesting here is Arina's use of Turkish and not Danish in these two examples. When asked, subsequent to the assessment, why she used Turkish words, she laughed a bit and said it was easier. It should be noted that there is the possibility that she utilized her Turkish because she felt more comfortable using it when speaking with someone who also knows the language – and, thus, she might not have utilized it had she communicated with someone with no Turkish skills.

Finally, it may be argued that all four students made use of Danish as a cognitive strategy given the fact that their language was affected by Danish syntax. For instance, Leyla states: *It's about a man*

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<sup>99</sup> For transcription see Appendix J, section 1.

<sup>100</sup> For transcription see Appendix J, section 4.

<sup>101</sup> For transcription see Appendix J, section 3.

<sup>102</sup> For transcription see Appendix J, section 3.



*there are writer and single*<sup>103</sup> which is equivalent to the Danish “det handler om en mand, **der er** forfatter og single”. Here she confuses the Danish pronoun “der” (where she should have used “who”) with the English “there” which resembles in sound. In addition, she confuses the English verb “are” with the Danish verb “er”, possibly due to resemblance in sound as well; or it may, of course, also be due to lack of knowledge on subject-verb agreement rules in English.

In another example, Leyla uses Danish syntax: *I watch also “Big Brother”*<sup>104</sup>, which she transfer/translates directly from Danish “jeg ser også”. Moreover, the students’ tendency to use transfer/codeswitching (using Danish words in the English sentences) also supports the claim that they are using Danish as a translanguaging strategy.

#### 7.9.4. Overview of the 12 core participants

In this section I shall give a language learner profile of the 12 participants, based on the variables – derived from the questionnaire study in the quantitative analysis<sup>105</sup>. Table 11 below gives an overview of all the available quantitative data.

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Participant<sup>106</sup></b>											
	<b>Level of English</b>											
	<b>Low</b>			<b>Middle</b>					<b>High</b>			
	<b>Jas</b>	<b>Ley</b>	<b>Ari.</b>	<b>Jam</b>	<b>Mal</b>	<b>Ser</b>	<b>Ili</b>	<b>Fur</b>	<b>Ayu</b>	<b>Dan</b>	<b>Aya</b>	<b>Bar</b>
<i>Score vocabulary test (English)</i>	2	7	7	12	14	17	16	17	20	24	23	24
<i>Score reading test (English)</i>	6	5	10	13	13	11	19	19	20	18	21	23
<i>Motivation</i>	17	33	34	34	27	35	35	33	27	40	34	39
<i>Receptive exposure English</i>	14	11	7	15	12	15	14	9	14	23	14	13

<sup>103</sup> For transcription see Appendix J, section 2.

<sup>104</sup>For transcription see Appendix J, section 2.

<sup>105</sup> For variables see chapter 7.2.3.

<sup>106</sup> Participants: Jas=Jasmina; Ley=Leyla; Ari=Arina; Jam=Jamila; Mal=Malik; Ser=Serhat; Ili=Ilias; Fur=Furkan; Ayu=Ayub; Dan=Danyal; Aya=Ayaz; Bar=Baris.

<i>Productive use English</i>	3	5	1	17	6	8	8	6	7	21	8	17
<i>Self-assessment L3 (English)</i>	1	4	4	6	4	7	9	7	8	9	8	10
<i>English grades</i>	2,3	5,5	4	4	3	4	10	5	10	10,7	8	10
<i>Academic achievement</i>	6,18	5,5	4	5,8	4,1	6	8,5	7,4	9,3	6,58	6,4	10,1
<i>Receptive exposure L1</i>	14	3	17	19	7	2	9	5	6	14	0	1
<i>Productive use L1</i>	14	5	18	10	9	6	12	5	13	15	1	4
<i>L1 literacy</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>L1 home use</i>	3	3	3	2	3	4	3	1	3	4	2	1
<i>L1 instruction</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
<i>Self-assessment L1 (Turkish)</i>	8	4	8	9	8	10 <sup>107</sup>	8	3	7	8	3	5
<i>Receptive exposure Danish</i>	14	10	11	19	9	11	5	8	11	13	11	12
<i>Productive use Danish</i>	14	8	10	17	14	8	9	4	10	11	8	14
<i>Self-assessment L2 (Danish)</i>	8	9	10	10	10	9	9	8	10	8	9	10
<i>SES</i>	11	4	14	4	5	7	16	14	16	16	11	11

Table 11. *The differences between the students in terms of the various variables (for scoring of the variables see chapter 7.6.2.)*

As can be seen from the table, the groups only differ significantly with regards to a few of the variables. This is for instance the case in terms of the students' *English grades*<sup>108</sup> where the group with the *low* scores on the English test in addition to the bottom three of the *intermediate* group received lower English grades; in contrast the students from the *high* group and the one in the top from the *intermediate* group received the highest English grades. This correlation could support the

<sup>107</sup> Here Serhat assessed his own Kurdish skills instead of his Turkish.

<sup>108</sup> English grades were a composite variable of "oral English grade", "written English grade" and "latest grade they had received on an essay".

fact that the English test captured the students' English capabilities. However, it should be noted that this variable is also affected by several factors. For instance, when looking at Ilias' grade (10) which is among the highest, it does not correlate with his English test scores (16+19) which are intermediate. It is not entirely clear why there is no correlation. However, prior to Ilias completing the test, their teacher singled him out as being very advanced in English. During observation it was clear that he was active in class, which might also be part of the reason for his high English grades. Malik is another example of a student whose English grades do not correlate with his English scores; while his scores on the English tests are intermediate, his English grades are low. His English grades may be due to the fact that he appeared rather quiet in English class – during observations he did not say much – hence, once more, the students' levels of activity in English class appear to affect their grades given by their English teachers.

Additionally, it should be mentioned that some students simply do not handle tests very well and hence, not all students' test results might reflect their capabilities accurately. This could be the case for Leyla who had low English test scores, but intermediate English grades.

Finally, it should be noted that the students were from different schools with different teachers. Thus, this may also be an intervening factor given that teachers may focus on different aspects when grading students.

The groups also differ to a certain degree when it comes to *productive use of English* where the *low* group has slightly lower scores relative to the two other groups. When asked to elaborate on this variable, Jasmin and Leyla responded that they felt English was very difficult, and that they would rather read English and watch English television than speak it. Some of the participants' scores give the indication that the variable does not predict high scores on the English test. For instance, Jamila's score is relatively high (17) compared to her English test scores which are in the bottom of the *intermediate* group.

The students differ most amply in terms of *Self-assessment L3* (English) which could indicate that the students are aware of their own level of English proficiency. This is also supported by many of the students' comments when asked how they felt about the English test and English in general during the interview. For instance, Jasmina (Jas) commented *the test was really difficult, but I also*

*know that I am not good at English (...)*<sup>109</sup>. In the other end of the scale, Danyal (Dan) responded: *the test was really easy, I just find English really easy*<sup>110</sup>.

A pattern reoccurs in terms of the participants with two mother tongues (Turkish +Kurdish/Bosnian) who once more stand out relative to those with only Turkish mother tongue; in this case it pertains to *receptive exposure to L1* and *productive use of L1*. Here Leyla, Malik, Serhat, Furkan, Ayaz and Baris (who all reported two mother tongues) reported lower amount of receptive exposure to Turkish and a lower amount of productive use of Turkish compared to the students with only Turkish mother tongue. When asked to elaborate on this variable, Leyla, Furkan and Baris responded that they spoke a lot of Danish at home, whereas Serhat and Ayaz reported speaking both Turkish, Kurdish and Danish at home. Overall, it could be argued that these variables stress the fact that the students who scored higher on the Turkish test are also those who are exposed to and utilize the language much more frequently; naturally, the greater amount of exposure and active use of the language could also be the reason for their higher scores on the Turkish test.

The same pattern appears in terms of the students' *self-assessment of L1*; the students with two mother tongues have generally assessed their L1 skills as lower compared to those who only have Turkish mother tongue. Here the students with two L1s have all assessed their Turkish skills except for Serhat, who has assessed his Kurdish skills.

Another interesting thing to notice is the fact that all 12 participants have L1 (Turkish) literacy skills; thus, the research question whether L1 literacy skills might result in enhanced L3 skills cannot be examined for these 12 students. An explanation for this could be related to the fact that the orthography of the Turkish language more or less corresponds with the pronunciation of Turkish words. Thus, plurilinguals with Turkish L1 can transfer their reading skills from Danish to Turkish if they speak the language. In this regard, it might be assumed that plurilinguals with Turkish L1 have attained L1 literacy skills with less of an effort compared to for instance plurilinguals with Arabic or Urdu L1. In addition, it should be noted that neither of the students with two mother tongues had literacy skills in Kurdish/Bosnian.

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<sup>109</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 4.

<sup>110</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 3.

### ***7.9.5. The differences between the students in terms of their answers given in the Danish interviews and the observations***

We will now move on to investigate the differences between the students with respect to how they perceive their own language learning experience. This part of the study is based on questions asked during the Danish interviews supplemented with questions asked during observations in English class<sup>111</sup>. These are shown in Table 12 below; each statement corresponds with the questions from the interview guide referred to in the footnotes except for question number 10 which is based on a question each of the participants were asked during the observations (see footnote 122).

Statements	Participants											
	Jas	Ley	Ari.	Jam	Mal	Ser	Ili	Fur	Ayu	Dan	Aya	Bar
1. Found the English tests easy <sup>112</sup>	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
2. Feels positive about English <sup>113</sup>	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
3. Parents have positive attitude towards the English language and English people <sup>114</sup>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	(Yes) <sup>115</sup>	Yes	Yes	(Yes) <sup>116</sup>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

<sup>111</sup> For interview guide see Appendix C).

<sup>112</sup> Question 1

<sup>113</sup> Question 2

<sup>114</sup> Question 3,4 & 5

<sup>115</sup> His parents had negative attitudes towards America and Americans but a positive view on other English speaking countries and people from other English speaking countries.

<sup>116</sup> His parents had negative attitudes towards America and Americans but a positive view on other English speaking countries and people from other English speaking countries.

4. Spends a lot of time reading in both English and Danish in spare time <sup>117</sup>	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
5. Slow and detail oriented reader; prefers to look up all unknown words when reading in English <sup>118</sup>	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
6. Is both planning and revising when writing in English and Danish <sup>119</sup>	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
7. Find that learning new languages for plurilinguals is easier than for monolinguals <sup>120</sup>	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
8. Felt embarrassed when speaking Turkish outside	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No

<sup>117</sup> Question 7 and 14.

<sup>118</sup> Question 8.

<sup>119</sup> Question 10, 11, 12, 15 & 16.

<sup>120</sup> Question 18.

home as a child <sup>121</sup>												
9. Parents motivate to study <sup>122</sup>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
10. When young, the parents spoke the mother tongue consistently, at home <sup>123</sup>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
11. “Thinks” in Danish the majority of the time <sup>124</sup>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
12. Sometimes uses Turkish in English class <sup>125</sup>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
13. Sometimes uses Turkish in other foreign language class (German or French) <sup>126</sup>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes

Table 12. *Participants’ answers to statements from interviews and observations.*

<sup>121</sup> Question 21.

<sup>122</sup> Question 23.

<sup>123</sup> This statement is based on a question each of the participants were asked during the observations, namely: *how much Turkish did your parents speak at home while you were growing up?*

<sup>124</sup> Question a.

<sup>125</sup> Question b.

<sup>126</sup> Question c.

The table above summarizes the participants' statements derived from the semi-structured interview in Danish and the observation in English class. I will in the following section comment on the participants' answers to each of these statements.

1. As one might have expected, the participants with the lowest scores which included the *low* group in addition to the bottom two of the *intermediate* group (Jamila and Malik) found the English tests rather difficult. The rest of the students (with the exception of Ayub from the *high* group) found the English tests relatively easy. Thus, this variable, more or less, correlates with the students' English test results and the level of the English proficiency test is validated as appropriate.
2. As is apparent from the table, all students replied feeling positive about English except for Jasmina who also had the lowest English scores out of the 12. When asked to elaborate she commented: *I don't like it [English]. Well, I think English is really difficult. I'm not good at it*<sup>127</sup>. What is interesting here is that the other low-score students replied feeling very positive about English. For instance, Leyla commented: *English is very interesting, I have prepared myself since seventh grade*<sup>128</sup>. Her apparent low English proficiency skills does not hinder her from seeing the language in a positive light; however, it is also interesting that she comments that she had "prepared herself" for English since seventh grade. This comment may be interpreted as though it was not until seventh grade that she started participating in English class which may explain her low English proficiency.
3. All participants replied that their parents felt positive about the English language. For instance, Baris – from the high-score group – commented: *my parents feel very positive about English. They see it as a universal language*<sup>129</sup>. However, Malik and Furkan reported that their parents had a negative view on America and Americans but not in terms of English people from other English speaking countries. These results may indicate that the opinions of the students' parents on English and English speaking people do not affect their English proficiency per se.

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<sup>127</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 4. More on her comment in section 7.9.8. "case study 3 – Jasmina" .

<sup>128</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 8.

<sup>129</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 7.



4. No specific patterns emerged with regards to how much the *low* and *intermediate* group students were engaged in reading in English and Danish in their spare time; however, all four participants in the *high* group claimed to spend a lot of time reading in English and Danish in their spare time. All students who claimed to be reading a lot in Danish and English stated that they primarily read articles and blog posts on the internet (via their social media profiles); only two of the students – Danyal from the *high* group and Jasmin (primarily in Danish) from the *low* group – who claimed to read a lot, stated that they were also reading books (for instance novels) in both languages. The amount of reading is relatively hard to estimate when students reply reading texts on the internet since the reading of articles or other material via social media profiles – on the internet – could seem rather superficial compared to reading a lengthy piece of fiction or technical literature. Thus, Danyal's claim of reading a lot in both languages correlates with his high scores on the English tests. In terms of Jasmina, this variable is much more complex; she reported reading a lot in English in order to become better at English in general.

The question regarding their reading was initially included in order to examine whether spending a lot of time reading in Danish and English correlated with high scores on the English tests since reading a lot in English may increase a learner's English vocabulary and enhance his or her reading skills (Stæhr, 2009); and it may be assumed that the learners, who read a lot in Danish, might be skilled readers in English based on the belief that there is a correlation between the reading abilities in L1 and L2 (Holmen, 2009). According to Holmen (2009) the concept *transfer of skill* which is the idea that proficient literacy skills in L1 are transferred to L2 may also be transferred to L3.

5. The participants were asked whether they were slow and detail-oriented readers (in both English and Danish), and here a pattern emerged with regards to the *low* and *high* group students, but no specific patterns were detected with regards to the *intermediate* group. The *low* group students claimed to be slow and detail-oriented readers who looked up all unknown words when reading, as opposed to the high group students who generally read fast, and only looked up words in cases where they lacked comprehension.
- In light of these results, the *bottom-up* and *top-down* theories (Davis & Bistodeu, 1993; Salataci & Akyl, 2002) could be interesting to look at. *Bottom-up* strategies are utilized by

less skilled readers who start by processing information at the sentence level when reading. Less skilled readers tend to *focus on identification of the meaning and grammatical category of a word, sentence syntax, text details, and so forth. As they process information that each sentence gives them, they check to see how this information fits, using top-down strategies such as background knowledge, prediction, getting the gist of the text, and skimming* (Salataci & Akyl, 2002:2). Top-down strategies revolve around the learner using background information to predict the meaning of what they hear or read; the learner develops expectations concerning the language they hear or read and these expectations will either be confirmed or rejected as the learner listens or reads<sup>130</sup>. Whereas less skilled readers have a tendency to overuse bottom-up strategies – which ultimately has a negative effect on comprehension – more proficient readers integrate the two strategies (bottom-up and top-down) when reading. Thus, these theories could support the fact that the *low* group students are less proficient readers – which also correlates with their low scores on the English tests – as opposed to the *high* group students who appear to be skilled readers and thus their answers also correlate with their English test scores.

6. The 12 participants were asked whether they spent time planning and revising when writing in English and Danish. All participants except for two from the *intermediate* group (Jamila and Malik) reported spending time revising when writing in both languages – Jamila commented that she spends time planning and revising when writing in Danish and not in English.

However, an interesting pattern emerged when asked how much they planned and revised when writing in each of the languages; here the *low* group students replied that they planned and revised much more when writing in English, since they found it difficult to write in English while they did not spend as much time when writing in Danish. The *high* group students, on the other hand, replied that although they did plan when writing in both languages, they did not spend nearly as much time planning and revising when writing in English as they did when writing in Danish. To this Ayaz commented: *I make a brain-storm before writing in both languages. But I actually prefer to write in English, there are just too many demands when writing in Danish compared to English*<sup>131</sup>. And Danyal made an

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<sup>130</sup> <https://www.teachingenglish.org.uk/article/top-down>

<sup>131</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 5.

interesting statement: *I don't like writing in Danish as much as I like writing in English. I feel that my vocabulary is much larger in English compared to what it is in Danish*<sup>132</sup>, this will be commented on later in the case studies.

This question was initially included in order to shed some light on which types of writers the participants appeared to be. Bereiter and Scardamalia (1987, 1991) have developed a couple of *Models of the writing process*, which refer to the writing processes of the mature and immature writers respectively. Accordingly, the writing approach of an immature writer (non-expert) is reflected in the *knowledge telling* model; here the writer (the *knowledge teller*), more or less, does not consider the structure and simply transfers knowledge from memory to paper ultimately leading to a composition that tends to reflect the order in which the thoughts were processed. Therefore, the *knowledge teller* displays a lack of planning and reflection in the writing process. The mature writer (expert/*knowledge-transformer*), on the other hand, transforms his or her knowledge and additionally, plans and reflects continuously during the writing process.

As for the 12 participants, it appears rather problematic to label them either *knowledge-tellers* or *knowledge-transformers* since we would need additional information concerning their writing process. Nevertheless, it appeared – from the participants' comments – that the low group students spent time planning and revising, when writing in English, simply because they were struggling to find the right words and they were often unsure of the grammatical rules; thus, they could just as well be *knowledge-tellers*. However, given the *high* group students' comments, they appear to be more what resembles *knowledge-transformers*. This is also related to the bottom-up and top-down strategies, which we discussed above where a knowledge-teller may be viewed as a learner using bottom-up strategies and a knowledge-transformer a learner who uses both bottom-up and top-down strategies.

7. When asked whether the students themselves felt learning a new language was easier for plurilinguals relative to monolinguals, a couple of patterns emerged when examining their responses; here the *low* group students stated that they found it hard learning new languages. For instance, Leyla commented the following: *sometimes I mess up when I try to speak one language. For instance, when we have German class, sometimes I think...oh I also know*

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<sup>132</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 3.

*Danish and English... and I have also been taking Turkish mother tongue instructions*<sup>133</sup>. In other words, Leyla feels that when trying to communicate in one language (German) she mixes all of the languages she knows which she, herself, sees as a disadvantage; this will be commented on later in the section on translanguaging. Arina commented: *it is a bit more difficult, because I know so many languages, so you might get a bit confused sometimes. But if there, for example, is a word I don't know in Danish I might translate it from Turkish to English*<sup>134</sup>. While Arina's initial thought was that having more languages is a disadvantage when learning new languages, she also claims that she occasionally can utilize her mother tongue in language learning situations.

In addition to the *low* group students, two of the students with Turkish + Kurdish/Bosnian mother tongues (Serhat and Baris) also reported that they find it more difficult for plurilinguals to learn a new language relative to monolinguals. Their responses correlate with their low Turkish scores and their exposure to the Turkish language (namely low); in the case of Serhat he was more exposed to Kurdish and Baris was exposed to both Turkish and Bosnian at home. Serhat commented: *I think it is harder for plurilinguals, because of the tja-sound*<sup>135</sup>. Here Serhat refers to a characteristic phonetic sound (tʃ) in the Turkish and Kurdish language which is often miss-transferred to Danish and in some cases also to English by plurilinguals with Turkish/Kurdish L1.

One of the intermediate students (Furkan) who also reported Kurdish being his mother tongue in addition to Turkish added: *it might be an advantage to know more languages, but first it might be harder and actually a disadvantage because you have to learn so many grammatical rules, but when you have mastered them, learning other languages might be easier*<sup>136</sup>. Overall, Furkan seemed a bit unsure whether he saw it as an advantage or disadvantage to learn additional languages as a plurilingual.

All the *high* group students (except for Baris) reported that learning additional languages as a plurilingual to be easier compared to monolinguals. Ayaz stated: *yes, it is an advantage because sometimes you meet words that remind you of each other, and when you learn English you already know something*<sup>137</sup> [rules/phonetic sounds etc. from more languages].

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<sup>133</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 8.

<sup>134</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 9.

<sup>135</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 6.

<sup>136</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 2.

<sup>137</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 5.

Here Ayaz is saying that plurilinguals are advantageous in terms of learning new languages because they can use meta-strategies in for instance comparing words that resemble each other across languages.

These responses correspond somewhat to Cummins idea of transfer of skills (Cummins, 2000) and the fact that a learner has to have attained a certain level of proficiency (a threshold) in order for him or her to be able to benefit from bilingualism in the acquisition of new languages. Hence the students who are weak in their L1/L2 may not be able to utilize their knowledge of languages in the acquisition of new languages compared to someone who is strong in his L1 and L2.

8. In order to explore whether the participants had experienced an additive or subtractive learning situation while growing up, they were asked if they had ever felt embarrassed speaking Turkish outside home which corresponds with the concept of *language shame* which we looked at in section 7.7. (research ethics). Only two students – one from the *intermediate* group (Furkan) and one from the *high* group (Ayaz) – claimed having felt embarrassed speaking Turkish outside their home; here it is interesting to note that both students have Turkish + Kurdish mother tongues. When asked to elaborate, Ayaz responded: *I just didn't like it when my parents spoke Turkish or Kurdish outside, I always tried to keep it really low*<sup>138</sup>. Furkan reported: *there has been some moments where I felt it was inappropriate to speak Turkish when we were places that were really Danish and where people spoke Danish really well*<sup>139</sup>.

A student from the low group, Jasmina, initially replied with a very self-confident voice that she has never felt embarrassed speaking Turkish in public; however, she sees it as rude and irreverent to speak Turkish amongst non-Turks: *sometimes you just don't feel like speaking Turkish, because it is impolite and disrespectful to speak it in front of others [ethnic Danes]. But I don't see it as embarrassing or humiliating*<sup>140</sup>. Thus, in light of Jasmina's response it could be argued that she has experienced somewhat of a subtractive learning situation although she claims not to have felt embarrassed speaking her mother tongue in public. In addition, her response could give the indication that the answers the students provided with regard to the question (i.e., whether they have felt embarrassed speaking their mother

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<sup>138</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 5.

<sup>139</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 2.

<sup>140</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 4.

tongue in public or not) might contribute to determining whether they have undergone an additive or subtractive learning situation; but that other factors should be considered as well. As previously discussed the immigrant languages are more likely to be discriminated against implicitly and explicitly in the Danish discourse compared to English and other foreign languages (e.g. Daryai– Hansen, 2011; Kristjansdottir & Timm, 2018), which, ultimately, might affect the identity of students who identify with these languages and hereunder their self-worth and self-esteem. Here factors as how the plurilingual learners have felt during their school years – whether they have felt that they should hide their linguistic and cultural background or embrace it – presumably play an essential role for the learner as far as experiencing either an additive or a subtractive learning situation.

Moreover, it should be noted that the five students, who reported both Turkish and Kurdish as mother tongues, might have even more issues to battle with relative to those with only Turkish mother tongues given the lack of social value Kurdish has in other groups outside the official majority language circle. The Kurdish language – more specifically Kurmanji, which is a Kurdish dialect used by Kurds in Turkey – is a language of an ethnic minority group which similar to Turkish, most likely, does not have any social value in the majority of European countries, and thus neither in Denmark (Gimbel 1987, pp. 80-86). On top of this, it might be argued that the Kurdish language suffers from low social value in one of its countries of origin – namely in Turkey – due to political reasons. The Kurdish population has until recent years – and in some places, they still do – experienced discrimination based on their ethnicity. The Turkish government had officially banned the words "Kurds", "Kurdistan" and "Kurdish", and the Kurdish language was officially prohibited outside private homes following the 1980s (Toumani, 2008). In light of this, some (e.g. Gimbel, 1987) adhere to the theory that plurilinguals with Kurdish background might experience this discrimination in, for instance, circles of plurilinguals with Turkish mother tongues in countries outside Turkey, hereunder also in Denmark. Thus, it could be assumed that the learners with Kurdish mother tongues experience a kind of “double” subtractive learning situation consequently leading to identity crises, low self-esteem and ultimately low third language proficiency.

9. All participants reported being motivated from home to study in general; hence, parental motivation was not limited to those who had high English proficiency which might have

been assumed. For instance, Jamila – who was in the low-score group – commented: *My parents say that I should study to become something (...) my father is very good at it [English]. They [her parents] like it [English] a lot*<sup>141</sup>.

10. The participants were asked to elaborate on the frequency use of their mother tongue at home when growing up. The purpose of the question was to get an idea of whether or not the students were “balanced bilinguals” (see section 4.2. on balanced bilingualism); given that those who were consistently exposed to their mother tongue at home were more likely to achieve a balance between the two languages (Turkish and Danish). However, since six of the students reported more than one mother tongue (Turkish + Kurdish/Bosnian) the issue of “balanced bilingualism” becomes much more complex to explore.

All students, except for two (Furkan and Baris) claimed having spoken their mother tongue consistently while growing up; however, it should be noted that by mother tongue, Serhat and Ayaz imply both Kurdish and Turkish. In the case of Furkan, the language at home was more a mixture between Turkish and Danish which may – due to the lack of exposure – be reflected in his low scores on the Turkish test and low Turkish communicative competence. In the case of Baris, the home languages were a mix between Turkish, Bosnian and Danish, which – similarly, due to the lack of exposure to Turkish – might be reflected in his low Turkish scores.

Overall, the issue of “balanced bilingualism” is much more difficult to investigate than initially assumed due to the complexity behind the mixture of the home language usages.

11. 12. 13.

The last three questions revolve around translanguaging<sup>142</sup> and to what degree the participants report utilizing all of their linguistic repertory of skills as a cognitive strategy or language practice in language class. They were initially asked which languages they “think”

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<sup>141</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 10.

<sup>142</sup> The students’ responses to these questions are transcribed and can be found in appendix H, section 2-13.

in, in order to explore whether that language corresponds with the language they use strategically when trying to learn English/German/French.

All participants claimed to be “thinking” in Danish the majority of time; to this claim two *high* group students – Ayub and Danyal – added that it happened occasionally that they would “think” in Turkish when they, for instance, were with their parents or other family members. Danyal reported “thinking” in English as well, and very often “counting” in Turkish. Nevertheless, during the interviews I got the impression that this question is rather difficult for the participants to answer due to the fact that this issue is possibly something they have never contemplated; in addition, trying to retrieve instances where they were “thinking” in a certain language may seem rather difficult given that it mostly probably happens on an automatized and unconscious level. Therefore, there might be more periods than reported where the students unconsciously switch the language which they use to “think”.

In terms of the students using all of their linguistic resources and presumably translanguaging as a cognitive strategy or a language practice in English/German/French class a couple of interesting patterns emerged. With regard to English class, the *low* group students in addition to Jamila and Ilias from the *intermediate* group and Danyal from the *high* group reported using Turkish in addition to Danish in English class. Here it is of relevance to note that these are the students who had among the highest scores on the Turkish test and also those who excelled on the Turkish communicative competence assessment (the Turkish interview). These five students claimed to be using Turkish often during translations (English-Turkish and Turkish-English). Leyla from the low group reported: *I look up words from English to Turkish if I don't understand the Danish equivalent, and if I still don't understand it, I ask my mom to explain the Turkish word (...)* *Sometimes if there is something I don't understand in English class, I ask my friends to explain it in Turkish*<sup>143</sup>. Likewise, Arina stated: *if there is a word I know in Turkish and not Danish I might translate it from Turkish to English*<sup>144</sup>. Here Leyla and Arina – who seemingly, do not have difficulties with the Danish language – sometimes utilize their Turkish to understand English. Thus, it appears as if they use translanguaging as a language practice; they might just as well be using translanguaging as a cognitive strategy without

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<sup>143</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 8.

<sup>144</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 9.



being aware of it. Ilias on the other hand, is aware of his utilization of Turkish as a cognitive strategy: *sometimes I can use my Turkish in English class if the English words resemble the Turkish words*<sup>145</sup>.

It could appear as though the students who have more proficient Turkish skills are more likely to use all of their linguistic resources in English class by drawing on Turkish as well as Danish or it may simply mean that they are more aware of how to reflect on this question. This emphasizes the fact that the students are not schooled in utilizing different learning strategies.

Although only a little less than half the students were observed to utilize their Turkish during English class, almost all students, except for two from the *intermediate* group (Malik and Serhat) and one from the *high* group (Ayaz) (all three with Turkish + Kurdish mother tongues), used their Turkish in German or French class occasionally. For instance, Baris reported: *I have used my Turkish and Bosnian in French class more than I have used it in English. (...) The pronunciation of certain sounds is similar in Turkish, Bosnian and French which has helped me*<sup>146</sup>. Thus, Baris utilizes translanguaging as a cognitive strategy in French class; although he reported not using his mother tongues in English learning situations, it is possible he is using it unconsciously, since he can connect his mother tongues with other languages in class.

Generally, the students needed time to contemplate on whether they use/or have used their mother tongues in English and/or French/German class; i.e., it appeared as if this was not something they were readily aware of. The majority of the students found the questions rather strange and even funny; Ilias and Malik, for instance, laughed a bit when asked the questions. They seemed surprised that anyone – hereunder especially a researcher investigating students' English proficiency skills – would ask about their mother tongue in relation to English and/or French/German class. By and large, their responses support the fact that these plurilingual students have not experienced being encouraged to utilize their mother tongues in language learning classes, and in some cases even discouraged to use their Turkish. This is emphasized by Ayub's comment: *I have not felt that it was particularly legitimate to use my Turkish skills in English class, but it is all right because I don't feel like I need the Turkish in English class*<sup>147</sup>. Along the same lines, Danyal stated:

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<sup>145</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 11.

<sup>146</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 7.

<sup>147</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 12.

*our teachers want us to learn English through Danish and not through for example Turkish.* This is a clear example of how the educational context does not consider the students' background; the example also mirrors Holmen and Ginman's (2006) article we discussed earlier regarding 4-year-old kindergarten children being told to speak Danish – and not Arabic – or else they will not start school. The fact that Danyal is told to learn English through Danish and not Turkish and that he is not encouraged to utilize various learning strategies (hereunder translanguaging), does not only potentially have a negative implication for his learning process, but it may just as well affect his sense of self-worth and facilitate the feeling of not being accepted for his minority language background; ultimately leaving him in a subtractive learning situation.

In the following section, an attempt will be made to go even further in depth in terms of the distinction between the students based on their English level (*low, intermediate and high*). In this regard, we will look at three case studies based on three students from each of the three groups.

#### **7.9.6. Case study 1 – Furkan (Intermediate)<sup>148</sup>**

The first case we will look at involves a student – Furkan – from the *intermediate* group who displays, more or less, average English skills. Furkan was selected due to the elaborate answers he provided to the questions asked during the interviews and observations.

As previously stated, Furkan is placed in the *intermediate* group as a result of his English scores, which also correlate with his English grades<sup>149</sup>. His scores on the Danish test were among the highest which might be reflected in his average marks (*academic achievement*) which are also average/a bit over average<sup>150</sup>.

He displayed poor results on the Turkish proficiency test; these results were validated by the Turkish communicative competence assessment, where he similarly demonstrated low skills. When asked whether he liked speaking Turkish and if he found speaking it difficult, he responded: *I like it. It is as if it is in my tongue, but I just cannot get it out [express it]. For me, Turkish and English*

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<sup>148</sup>The examples used in this case study (Furkan) can be found in Appendix H, section 2 – here the whole interview can be found.

<sup>149</sup> See Table 11.

<sup>150</sup> See Table 11.

*are languages that I have to think it through in my head before I speak. I have to find the correct sentence order.*

As previously stated, Furkan claimed having two mother tongues – Turkish and Kurdish – however, he reported not having been exposed to Kurdish at home, but only Turkish and Danish; his parents had spoken more Turkish (mixed with Danish) when he was younger, but had gradually switched to Danish the majority of the time as he got older. To this he added: *I have felt kind of embarrassed when people have said “what? Don’t you know how to speak your mother tongue?”. And then I have answered: no unfortunately my parents have focused on other things aside from my mother tongue. They said it is not the most important thing in this life you live. However, I am thinking it is important. That [Turkey] is the place I am from. That [Turkey] is the place my family lives and the language they speak.*

Thus, the lack of exposure to the Turkish language and the lack of encouragement and motivation to learn Turkish from home might partly explain his low scores on the Turkish test in addition to his low communicative competence in Turkish; here he displayed a very limited vocabulary resulting in him not comprehending even simple sentences and thus, also difficulties forming sentences. In many cases he responded in Danish since he was unable to find the right words in Turkish. Nevertheless, this is understandable considering the lack of exposure to the Turkish language from home (or other places). Hence, Furkan may – despite having a Turkish L1 – be categorized as Danish dominant.

However, as is visible from the quotation above, the lack of exposure to the Turkish language from home, in addition to his poor Turkish proficiency skills – which he is aware of – bother him. Aside from the practical aspect of not being able to speak with his family in Turkey – due to his low Turkish skills – he appears to be in a search for his identity. His statement: *That [Turkey] is the place I am from* could indicate that he does not consider himself as “fully” Danish, despite the fact that he is born in Denmark and that his parents – according to himself – have spoken Danish the majority of the time. This is further emphasized when considering the following statement: *I feel it is a duty that I learn Turkish. I know that I am not using it every day since I live in Denmark. I speak Danish, watch Danish television and such. (...) Even though I don’t use it [Turkish] that much, it is the language of my roots and it means something to who I am. There is some kind of identity in it. If I don’t know Turkish, then what am I? Because my roots are from Turkey, and if I*

*don't know my roots then it is like I have to start all over and I don't want to do that because then I will lose my identity. Therefore, I have to learn Turkish.*

As a contrast to what could seem to be a rather positive view Furkan has of his mother tongue, he recounts incidents where he felt embarrassed speaking Turkish in public: *When me and my friends are at a place where there are only ethnic Danes I don't like to speak Turkish because then they will know that I am bilingual and then they will think that I am not that smart.(...) If I speak Turkish in front of an elderly Dane, I would definitely not like that. I can imagine how their eyes are burning my neck thinking "why are you here", and then it makes me think I should not be speaking that language [Turkish].*

The fact that Furkan links plurilingualism to *not being smart* as a prejudice amongst ethnic Danes, may indicate that he experiences the hierarchy among languages that exists in Denmark; and that he believes individuals with more than one language (often immigrant languages) are seen as less intelligent by the ethnic Dane population. In addition, his statement: *"why are you here"*, could support the idea that he does not consider himself as being Dane and that he feels more "foreign" during incidents where he speaks his mother tongue.

All in all, his case is very complex given that he on the one hand, appears to have experienced a subtractive learning situation where he has gradually replaced his L1 (Turkish) with his L2 (Danish) and, on the other hand, appears to be in search for his Turkish roots.

What is also interesting in Furkan's case, is his utilization of translanguaging as a cognitive strategy in French class, but not in English: *In French class, I can use my Turkish. I can use the sounds and the fact that some words resemble each other (...) I don't use my Turkish in English class, the difference is too big.* Apparently, Furkan can transfer the phonetic sounds from Turkish to French and use meta-strategies when comparing words that resemble each other across languages (French-Turkish). It could be assumed that he has experienced a larger acceptance and possibly even an encouragement to utilize all of his linguistic resources in French class, which might be the reason for his ability to use translanguaging in French class as opposed to English. Thus, it is possible that he might have displayed even more proficient skills in English if the pedagogy in the classroom had been more accommodating for students like him who have more languages at their disposal.

Thus, it appeared as if Furkan rather used transfer from Danish to English – which may also be seen as a practice of translanguaging – during the observations in English class, which supports his own

statement about Danish being the language he “thinks in”; this is exemplified in the following utterance in class: *I would say some people have to **get into it***.<sup>151</sup> Here he transfers “**get into it**” directly from the Danish equivalent “sætte sig ind i det” which would correspond to the English “familiarize themselves with that”. Another example which could be seen as a sign of translanguaging is when he utters the following: *it is very **up right now***<sup>152</sup>, which is also a direct transfer from the Danish “det er oppe i tiden” and equivalent to the English “it is up to date”.

Another example that supports the idea that Furkan uses transfer from Danish to English is seen below; i.e., where he uses Danish syntax and an incorrect pronoun in English, which he confuses with a Danish pronoun. The teacher asks why bystanders are important when it comes to *bullying* and Furkan responds: *bystanders are **them that can** make it stop or worse*<sup>153</sup>. In Danish the translation would be “**dem**, der kan stoppe det, eller gøre det værre”; in this example Furkan confuses the Danish pronoun “dem” with the personal pronoun “them” which is normally used as the object of a sentence – most likely since the two words (dem and them) resemble each other audibly – where he should have used the demonstrative pronoun “those”. Another error in that sentence revolves around his use of “that”. While the Danish pronoun “der” can be used when referring to both inanimate as well as animate objects, the English pronoun “that” cannot be used as a reference to animate objects (here he should have used “who”); and Furkan confuses these two, perhaps because they also resemble each other in sound.

Furkan’s case seems rather complex in that we see a plurilingual learner who appears to have undergone a subtractive learning situation given his view on how monolinguals perceive plurilinguals; that is, as less intelligent. Interestingly, he still aspires to become better at his mother tongue (and English) which he sees as an integral part of his identity.

In the next case study, we will examine a learner (Danyal) with high proficiency skills in English, and investigate in which aspects he differs from Furkan.

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<sup>151</sup> This example is based on my notes from class observations.

<sup>152</sup> This example is based on my notes from class observations.

<sup>153</sup> This example is based on my notes from class observations.

### 7.9.7. Case study 2 – Danyal (high)<sup>154</sup>

The next case example we will look at pertains to *Danyal* from the *high* group. He is among the students who had the highest scores on the English test in addition to being the one who displayed the most proficient communicative skills during the English speaking assessment. His scores on the Turkish test are similarly among the highest – compared to the rest of the group – which correlate with the high proficiency he displayed on the Turkish communicative competence assessment; along the same lines, his scores on the Danish test are among the highest.

According to his English teacher, he is a very intelligent student who is always a bit ahead of the others in English class. His high English proficiency is very obvious to see when observing him in the classroom; here Danyal shows a large vocabulary, superior grammatical knowledge as well as great fluency. Moreover, he demonstrates great overall background knowledge as well as knowledge of various proverbs and idioms in English.

Danyal reports that he finds learning languages easy and has – accordingly – just started learning a new language in his spare time – namely Albanian – which will be the sixth language he knows.

According to Danyal, his parents had spoken Turkish to him at home consistently and even taught him Turkish grammar rules prior to him starting school at age five. He stated that his parents had always told him to be proud of his mother tongue and not to worry about what other people might think of it; and thus, he commented that he loved speaking Turkish. This was supported by the fact that he appeared very cheerful when he was told that he was being tested in his Turkish skills. Here he also showed skilful Turkish proficiency.

When investigating the concept of translanguaging, Danyal is asked which language he is “thinking” in, and his immediate response is *English*. When asked to elaborate he utters: *I don't know. It is like it just happens automatically, and sometimes I feel like I can better “think” and express these thoughts in English instead of Danish*. This postulate is supported by the following example where he transfers directly from English to Danish during the Danish interview: *Jeg har været subjekt for en masse racisme* which is the equivalent to “I have been subject to...”; however, in Danish the appropriate word for “subject” would be “victim” and thus the more correct translation would be “jeg har været offer for”. Another example which supports the fact that his

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<sup>154</sup> The examples used in this case study (Danyal) can be found in Appendix H, section 3 – here the whole interview can be found.

Danish is influenced by him thinking in English is when he reports how early he was taught grammar: *da jeg var sådan **rundt om** sådan 6-7 år, så begyndte min bedstefar at lære mig normal-grammatik* which corresponds to the following in English: *when I was **around** 6-7 years old.....* In this example, Danyal transfers directly from English by saying “rundt om” which is a direct translation of “around”, whereas in Danish the correct preposition in this context would be “omkring”.

In fact, Danyal is aware of his “thinking” in English. When asked whether it occurs all the time he responds *yes, and it's not rather unfortunate because it affects my everyday language (...) I formulate my Danish sentences in English<sup>155</sup> (...) There are a lot of words I don't know in Danish but which I know in English.*

Nonetheless, when digging further into the issue of which languages he is “thinking” in, the picture becomes much more complex. During English class, he was asked repeatedly to report the language he was thinking in; this was done, for instance, right after he had raised his hand in class or had been sitting and working on something on his own. In all cases, he responded thinking in Danish. Therefore, while he appears to be extremely fond of English, and thus, uses it as often he can, his Danish appears very dominant.

Moreover, he reported counting in Turkish very often. Thus, it may be argued that he is thinking in Turkish occasionally as well. Furthermore, given that he argues that he expresses seriousness best in Turkish, this may further emphasize his strength in Turkish and hence, perhaps his tendency to think in Turkish as well; this is seen in the following example: *if someone has the same mother tongue as me, and I am speaking about casual stuff, I would speak Danish. But if someone does something wrong, and I want to show seriousness, I would do it [speak] in Turkish.*

In light of the above, and the fact that he claims to be “thinking” in multiple languages, it could be argued that Danyal is using translanguaging as a cognitive strategy in various contexts. This is supported by his answer when asked whether he feels having more languages is an advantage or disadvantage in the process of learning new languages: *it is a great advantage because you can compare grammar and rules. I could imagine that a Dane would find it more difficult to learn, for example, Arabic compared to a Turk.* Thus, this might be interpreted as Danyal displaying meta-linguistic awareness given that he knows he can use meta-strategies during language learning. What

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<sup>155</sup> Hereafter he gives an example of a Danish sentence which was a direct translation from English (see the example in Appendix H, section 3).

is also interesting to note is that he categorizes the majority speaking ethnic Danes as “Danes” and plurilinguals whose L1 and L2 are Turkish and Danish respectively as “Turks”. This could indicate that he distinguishes strongly between ethnic Danes and individuals with other backgrounds. Moreover, he adds that although he sees having more languages as an advantage in terms of learning new languages, he does not consider it as a positive feature in other respects; this is exemplified in the following quotation: *if it is not in terms of languages, it is not an advantage [having more languages] because I have been subject to a lot of racism. People look at me and think I am less intelligent.* In this manner, Danyal distinguishes between identity and how a person with more languages is viewed (in his opinion negatively) and the ability to speak more languages (which he sees as an advantage).

This statement shows a great complexity vis-à-vis his identity and language learning situation. On the one hand he seems like a balanced and content, intelligent plurilingual student who is able to utilize translanguaging as a cognitive strategy in many respects. On the other hand, he appears to have experienced a subtractive learning situation where he does not feel that he or his language background is acknowledged; and in many regards it has even been rejected. This is further stressed in the following quotation: *I have experienced peer-pressure and that I cannot use my mother tongue in school, and that here in Denmark, we have to speak Danish. (...) Our teachers want us to learn English through Danish and not through for example Turkish.*

All things considered, it is possible that Danyal could have developed even more advanced English skills had he felt it was accepted and encouraged to utilize his entire linguistic repertory of skills during English class. Danyal seems to have a meta-linguistic awareness and therefore the ability to compare linguistic features across languages; however, these skills appear rather suppressed, and only a reform towards a more inclusive pedagogical practice would aid a student like him.

In the next and final case, we will examine a student who is placed on the *low* level regarding her English proficiency skills and explore how her case might differ from the other two.



### 7.9.8. Case study 3 – Jasmina (low)<sup>156</sup>

The final case we will look at pertains to Jasmina; her case is especially interesting to examine due to her low English scores, but very high Turkish scores and to a certain extent also relatively high Danish scores.

According to her teachers, she is a very bright student who excels in all other areas in school except for English – which is also reflected in her English grades and average marks<sup>157</sup>. Her SES is relatively high within the group of students in the study. Thus, she does not follow the general pattern; i.e., characterized by a correlation between a high SES and a good command of English as established in the quantitative analysis (see section 7.8.5.). Moreover, her character as a student who generally does well in school is also reflected in her awareness of her weak English proficiency skills and her striving to become better: *I know that I am not that good at English (...) I know that English is an important language (...) that is why I am trying to practice [English] by reading books at home. I know that it is a language I have to practice.*

Furthermore, she reports receiving parental support and motivation in terms of education and in particular when it comes to English: *they say that English is important, and that I have to practise it and become better.* Although such parental support and motivation generally is associated with positive school achievement, it is hard to say whether the parental encouragement simply did not yield an effect or whether her parents only started to show support – especially in terms of English – after they discovered that she was struggling. Nevertheless, the fact that she reports that she does practice it at home may show that the parental support does impact her.

The observations in class support the fact that she is struggling with the English language. She appears to have a limited vocabulary which is supported by her own statement: *I feel it is difficult to build a sentence, I have difficulties with the words. I don't know so many words. Therefore, I don't know how to build sentences when I don't know the words.*

Moreover, she appears to have difficulties applying grammatical rules – she often has difficulties understanding simple sentences as well as forming them due to her limited vocabulary. Some examples hereof are: *the Berlin wall was a tegn på* and *the people cannot lide*<sup>158</sup>. Here she uses the

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<sup>156</sup> The examples used in this case study (Jasmina) can be found in appendix H, section 2 – here the whole interview can be found.

<sup>157</sup> See Table 11; here *average marks* are titled *academic achievement*.

<sup>158</sup> These examples are based on my notes from class observations.

Danish words “tegn på” instead of the English “symbol of” and in the other example she uses the Danish word “lide” instead of the English word “like”. The examples support the idea that she is using bottom-up strategies which once more emphasizes her low English level. In the two examples she switches to Danish in order to keep her speech fluent; the context of the two examples is in class during group work. However, it appears as though she displays much more insecurity when speaking English in class, even when it is merely in front of her friends – whom she is often placed in a group with – compared to how she was speaking during the *speaking session* I administered. Although she displayed poor linguistic skills in English during the speaking session, she showed a slightly more enhanced discourse competence and strategic competence.

When asked how she feels about English she responded: *I don't like it. I think English is really difficult. I am really bad at it.* When asked whether she had any idea why she felt English was difficult, she responded: *in fourth grade when we had English, I felt I was on the same level as the others, but as the years went by and we kept getting new English teachers – we have switched teachers four to five times – that made it harder and harder. Then in seventh grade suddenly we got [English material] which was on a level too high for me, so I could not follow the others.*

Moreover, she added that it was not until recently, after getting their latest English teacher, that she felt somewhat motivated to start learning English. This may emphasize the importance of the pedagogical practice the students are met with in addition to the importance of positive feedback since this arguably has a major effect on identity formation. This is further highlighted in the following quotation from Jasmina: *all our previous English teachers as well as our other teachers in other subjects, except for our current English teacher, don't want us to speak other languages in school. But if my friend does not understand something, then they [the teachers] say it is all right that I quickly explain it in Turkish, but otherwise they don't want it. (...) in the breaks they say it is kind of disrespectful if my friends and I speak Turkish and there are others next to us who don't understand it. So, they want us to speak mostly Danish and not leave others out.* These statements – which she has been hearing throughout her school years – might have affected her sense of self-identity and how she feels that she ought to act/speak in order to be accepted; this is additionally supported by her response when asked whether she has ever felt embarrassed speaking Turkish in public, *sometimes you just don't feel like speaking Turkish, because it is impolite and disrespectful to speak it in front of others [ethnic Danes]. But I don't see it as embarrassing or humiliating.* Despite of this, the observations in class showed she was often codeswitching and using many Turkish words (confidently) when speaking with her friends in Danish. This even occurred

occasionally when speaking to her teacher: *tamam, Signe we got it*<sup>159</sup>. “Tamam” means “all right” or “okay” and is a frequently used word in Turkish.

Nonetheless, since she displays mixed attitudes towards her Turkish being used in school context, it is conceivable that Jasmina has toned down her use of Turkish as part of her overall linguistic skills as a strategy in English class. In spite of this, she notes often using Google-translation in *English-Turkish* and reversely, which is perhaps due to her strong Turkish proficiency skills.

It may be argued that if someone like Jasmina had experienced a more accommodating pedagogical practice – which did not disregard her linguistic background but, conversely, encouraged her to activate it as a strategy in the classroom – she may have been able to display more enhanced English skills. This is especially so given her strong Turkish proficiency skills, but also due to the potential she displays which is shown through her meta-linguistic awareness; this is for instance demonstrated when she is reading a question from a work-sheet in class: *what kind... What does “kind” mean? Doesn’t it mean child?*<sup>160</sup> Here she is referring to the German word “Kind” which means child; this example shows that her German language is activated during this incident and possibly also often at other occasions. What is also interesting to note is that she reports being much more proficient in German wherefore it is a language she is fond of as opposed to the English language.

As previously mentioned, researchers (e.g. Holmen, 2015) have argued that Danish bilinguals with immigrant background tend not to have the same prerequisites as the monolinguals with respect to English acquisition; i.e., since many monolinguals have been exposed to English much earlier than in the beginning of English instructions via for instance English television compared to the bilinguals. However, in terms of the other foreign language they learn in school (German or French<sup>161</sup>) all students have the same starting point which ultimately may motivate the bilinguals/plurilinguals to excel at it. Here Jasmina is no exception; when asked how she feels about German, she responded: *I like it because I am at least as good as the others if not better.*

On the whole, despite the fact that Jasmina’s case appears complex, it may be presumed that it is far from exceptional and that she represents a large group of plurilingual learners who might display proficient skills in other school subjects, but has difficulties when it comes to English.

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<sup>159</sup> This example is based on my notes from class observations.

<sup>160</sup> This example is based on my notes from class observations.

<sup>161</sup> Or some cases Spanish.

Nevertheless, as mentioned before, there is a large amount of complexity behind each of the three cases we have looked at; yet, in the final section of this chapter, I will compare the students across the different levels in an attempt to illuminate some of their differences.

#### ***7.9.9. Comparing the students across levels and profiles***

We have now examined three different cases comprising three plurilinguals with different English proficiency levels: Furkan (intermediate), Danyal (high) and Jasmina (low); in the following section a comparison will be made in order to go even further in depth in trying to comprehend their English proficiency skills.

These three students have been interesting to investigate in terms of their language learning situations given the high level of complexity associated with their linguistic backgrounds; that is, how they use their languages in addition to their perception of their languages with respect to how and when they should or should not be used. Moreover, we have seen that their English level is connected to many other variables such as their receptive exposure to various languages as well as their use of them in addition to the pedagogical context they have faced throughout their school years along with their socio-economic status.

Despite their great differences in reference to their English proficiency skills, it could be argued that there is evidence that they have all experienced a more or less subtractive learning situation with different outcomes. This is based on their utterances about how they have felt that their mother tongues have not been valued and even perceived as a negative feature during their school years. Both Furkan and Danyal stated that they felt that the majority speaking population in Denmark (ethnic Danes) perceive plurilinguals as non-intelligent. Jasmina reported that their teachers had always told them not to speak Turkish in school since it was rude to speak a language others did not understand; this view appeared to have affected Jasmina's perception of language use in a negative way. Along the same lines, Danyal reported that their teacher had claimed that they should learn English through Danish and not through other languages.

It is noteworthy that these three students – despite the fact that they, presumably, have experienced a subtractive learning situation in the relationship between their L1 and L2 – are very fond of the Turkish language. In addition, all three students reflect on their language situation in metalinguistic terms and they all report utilizing translanguaging as a cognitive strategy and language practice in language learning class to some degree; here especially Jasmina and Danyal mention having

utilized translanguaging as a language practice during English class by using for instance translations from Turkish-English and reversely. The Turkish proficiency level of these two students is very high, which means that they may have even more language resources to draw on during English class.

Jasmina's case, in particular, stands out since she displays high proficiency skills in both Turkish, Danish and – according to her teacher – in all other school subjects as well, except for English. Based on the statements she gave, Jasmina is arguably a student who has been negatively affected by the lack of positive feedback and acknowledgement in English class which might ultimately have made her “passive” (i.e., silent) in English class. Therefore, her case illustrates that students' English proficiency is not necessarily an integral part of their general academic achievement.

Furkan, on the other hand, displays poor Turkish skills, which might also be the reason why he is not utilizing Turkish in the same manner as the other two. He reported that his Turkish skills have occasionally helped him in French class where he is able to transfer the phonetic sounds from Turkish to French and use meta-strategies in the comparison of words that resemble each other across languages. Although Furkan aspires to become better at Turkish since it is part of his identity, he also claims that he would not prefer speaking Turkish in public in front of ethnic Danes since he would feel different and as though he did not belong in Denmark.

By and large, their statements as well as the observations during English class along with their test scores/assessments in the three languages (English, Turkish and Danish) illustrate certain patterns in terms of learning strategies used by a proficient English learner versus a less proficient English learner. This is for instance apparent with regards to the low and intermediate proficient English learners' (Jasmina and Furkan) utilization of transfer from Danish to English, which was not used by the high proficient English learner (Danyal) who appeared to be using transfer from English to Danish. Nevertheless, these transfers are also perceived as translanguaging and thus an activation of their linguistic repertoire.

Both the high proficient English learner (Danyal) as well as the low proficient English learner (Jasmina) appear to be utilizing translanguaging as a language practice and – to some degree – as a cognitive strategy in English class despite the discouragement they have experienced from some of their teachers.

This lack of distinction between these two students with respect to utilization of the same learning strategies in English class, merely adds to the complexity which undoubtedly lies behind each of the participants' cases; thus, emphasizing that each case should be considered separately in order to understand why their English level is as it is.

This is further highlighted when bearing in mind the statements and observations of the rest of the nine participants with Turkish background; here, for instance, the utilization of translanguaging in English class was not dependent on the students' English proficiency level, but rather their Turkish skills. We saw that the students who reported having two mother tongues (Turkish + Kurdish/Bosnian) – and who were also less skilled in Turkish – were less likely to utilize translanguaging which may be due to their limited exposure to the Turkish language at home. This may be due to the fact that they have a less developed Turkish proficiency level and hence, it may be harder for them to draw upon their Turkish skills.

However, that being said and in light of the many studies conducted in the area of bilingualism and L3 proficiency – showing that bilinguals who are proficient in their L1 and L2 (threshold theory and balanced bilingualism see chapter 4) and have L1 literacy skills, appear to be more proficient in their L3 compared to monolinguals – the data from this qualitative analysis prove that many other variables should be considered aside from proficiency skills in the learners' L1 (Turkish), and L2 (Danish) as well as L1 literacy skills, when trying to understand the latter's L3 (English) proficiency. In terms of L1 literacy skills, as previously mentioned, plurilinguals with Turkish L1 are, more or less, able to transfer their reading skills from Danish to Turkish – if they speak Turkish – with less of an effort in contrast to plurilinguals with for instance Arabic L1 who would need to learn the skill since the Arabic written language is orthographically different from the Danish. This is confirmed in light of all the 12 students in the qualitative study having Turkish literacy skills. Therefore, the research question whether L1 literacy skills might result in enhanced L3 skills cannot be explored in this qualitative study with these 12 students.

The results from the qualitative analysis, based on the 12 selected participants, show that high proficiency skills in the learners' L1 (Turkish and Turkish + Kurdish/Bosnian) and in their L2 (Danish), as well as their L1 literacy skills, do not in itself determine the students' English skills (their L3); indeed, many other factors play a role in terms of the learners' English proficiency skills. In order to comprehend their English proficiency level, each participant should be considered

separately in terms of experiences with their mother tongues and whether it has clashed with their respective schools' and teachers' ideas of which languages should be used where and when.

A common factor for all of the 12 students was that despite the fact that meta-linguistic awareness is a target of foreign language teaching in Danish schools neither of them had experienced being encouraged to utilize their mother tongues in language learning classes, and in some cases even discouraged to use their Turkish skills.

What the participant observations also showed was the importance of their mother tongues in terms of their identity formation. Despite the fact that all 12 students were born in Denmark and that the majority of them primarily spoke Danish at home, they appeared to have an emotional attachment to their mother tongue. With respect to students' relationship to their mother tongues, Rampton, Leung and Harris (1997) discuss the difference between *language expertise*; *language affiliation* and *language inheritance*; and looking at the 12 participants, they all seem to have a relatively strong affiliation with their Turkish mother tongue. Rampton et al. (1997) define language affiliation *as the attachment or identification they feel for a language whether or not they normally belong to the social group customarily associated with it* (Rampton et al., 1997:555). While some of the participants who have an affiliation to their Turkish mother tongue also display proficient Turkish skills – for instance Danyal and Jasmina – some students only have the affiliation to the Turkish language and not the high proficiency – for instance Furkan. This is obvious when looking at the quotation: *I feel it is a duty that I learn Turkish. I know that I am not using it every day since I live in Denmark. I speak Danish, watch Danish television and such. (...) Even though I don't use it [Turkish] that much, it is the language of my roots and it means something to who I am. There is some kind of identity in it. If I don't know Turkish, then what am I? Because my roots are from Turkey, and if I don't know my roots then it is like I have to start all over and I don't want to do that because then I will loose my identity. Therefore, I have to learn Turkish*<sup>162</sup>.

Despite his low Turkish proficiency, Furkan experiences an affiliation with the language. At the same time, he does not feel that he is accepted if he for instance speaks Turkish in public; this indeed creates a complex situation where perhaps a lot of energy is wasted on trying to fit in and being accepted where a more accommodating pedagogical context might have embraced his

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<sup>162</sup> For transcription see appendix H, section 2.

linguistic background and thus also his identity; accordingly, he might have been able to utilize more learning strategies and advanced his English even further.

#### ***7.10.1. The implications of the pedagogical context***

We have in this chapter looked at certain individuals and some of the factors explaining their English proficiency levels and their use of learning strategies. Overall, one common denominator seems to play a significant role for their English levels and use of strategies, namely the pedagogical context. None of the 12 participants reported having been encouraged to utilize their L1 in English class, and in some cases the participants reported being discouraged to use it.

As we saw earlier Danyal claimed: *I have experienced peer-pressure and that I cannot use my mother tongue in school, and that here in Denmark, we have to speak Danish. (...) Our teachers want us to learn English through Danish and not through for example Turkish*<sup>163</sup>. Not only does this belief that Danyal has about using his mother tongue in English affect his use of various learning strategies in English class – hereunder translanguaging – but he may even perceive his Turkish background as irrelevant/inappropriate which in turn might affect his self-worth and social identity. Despite the fact that Danyal displayed fine English proficiency skills, it could be argued that he would have benefited from a pedagogical practice which considered his linguistic and cultural background.

The lack of support and inclusion is in particular clear when considering the case of Jasmina. The fact that she is doing very well in all other subjects in school except for English emphasizes that the mainstream educational practise does not take into account the individual students' backgrounds in English class. This postulate is supported by the fact that she reports being on the same level in English up until fourth grade, but after that they kept switching teachers and at one point she could not follow the other students as she felt the material they worked with in class was too difficult. This is further highlighted when she claims that she has just started becoming motivated to learn English after getting their latest English teacher which is a great indicator of the significance of the pedagogical practice the students are faced with along with the significance of overall positive feedback.

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<sup>163</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 3.



Although Jasmina reports not feeling embarrassed when speaking her mother tongue in public she adds: *sometimes you just don't feel like speaking Turkish, because it is impolite and disrespectful to speak it in front of others [ethnic Danes]*<sup>164</sup>. This claim along with her claim of being told not to talk too much Turkish in school by her teachers may support the idea that she has undergone a subtractive learning situation; and hence being unable to transfer her (proficient) skills from her L1 and L2 to her L3 (English). Jasmina would surely have profited from a pedagogical practice which did not neglect her linguistic background but, on the other hand, encouraged her to activate it as a strategy in the language classroom; in that case, she may have been able to display more enhanced English skills.

All in all, one could argue that a pedagogical practice – such as translanguaging – that encourages students to utilize their entire linguistic repertory of skills may not only aid in the specific language learning situations through transfer of skills or language knowledge, but may also help these types of students feel that their mother tongues are valued and acknowledged. Indeed, this would further lead the students to experience an additive learning situation.

### ***7.10.2. Summarizing the chapter***

In this chapter, the results from the qualitative study were presented. The participants were 12 students with Turkish L1 placed on three different levels: *low*, *intermediate*, *high* (based on their English test scores from the quantitative analysis).

In the first part, the students' test scores in English, Danish and Turkish were presented in addition to the students' demographic data. Overall, the results showed that while no significant differences were found between the students with respect to their Danish scores – they all scored relatively high – a great distinction between the students was found in terms of their Turkish proficiency skills.

Here the majority of students who reported more than one mother tongue (Turkish + Kurdish/Bosnian) scored significantly lower on the Turkish test; the Turkish communicative competence assessment – more or less – confirmed these results.

The short oral reading comprehension assessment (The Great Gatsby) arguably confirmed the students' level of English proficiency in terms of the strategies they used. The less proficient

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<sup>164</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 4.

students (with low English skills) appeared to use bottom-up strategies, struggling at word-level as opposed to the more proficient students who attempted to decode the overall meaning of the text. Nevertheless, the text appeared too difficult for all of the students, and only one student (Danyal from the *high* group) provided a relatively fulfilling summary.

A final assessment of the students with low English skills focused on their communicative competence. This showed that these participants (the *low* group and the bottom student from the *intermediate* group) generally displayed low linguistic competence, while their levels of strategic competence, discourse competence and fluency were a bit higher.

Hereafter, it was examined whether the variables used in the quantitative study correlated with the 12 students' English achievements; here the results showed that variables such as *English grades* and *productive use of English* were correlated with the students' English scores. In addition, the results showed that the students who reported having two mother tongues, also reported less *exposure to their L1* (Turkish) and less *productive use of L1* (Turkish) along with lower *self-assessment L1* relative to the other students. The variable *self-assessment L3* also correlated with the students' English test scores: the higher the English scores, the higher they assessed their own English skills. The variable *L1 literacy skills* showed that all students had this particular skill, wherefore the research question whether learning a third language is enhanced through literacy in one's first language cannot be examined.

Moreover, the students' statements, based on questions asked during the interviews supplemented with questions asked during observations in English class, were compared and the results showed the following: the *low* group students found the English test difficult as opposed to the *high* group students who generally found it easy, and thus, the students' statements more or less correlate with their English test results. While the results pertaining to reading frequency in English and Danish of the *low* and *intermediate* students did not show any patterns per se, a pattern emerged vis-à-vis the high level students; namely that this latter group spends a lot of time reading in Danish and English. In addition, the students were asked how they approached the reading of a text. Here the results showed that the *low* group students may use more bottom-up strategies often utilized by less proficient readers, which also correlates with their low scores on the English tests. In contrast, the *high* group students appeared to be using interactive strategies that resemble what proficient readers would use, which also correlates with their high English test scores. Regarding the results of the students' use of writing strategies, the *low* group students reported that they planned and revised

much more frequently when writing in English compared to Danish, since they found it more difficult to write in English as opposed to Danish. The *high* group students, on the other hand, claimed that although they did plan when writing in both languages, they did not spend nearly as much time planning and revising when writing in English as they did when writing in Danish. Moreover, the *low* group students reported that they found it more difficult for plurilinguals to learn new languages as opposed to the *intermediate* and *high* group students who generally found it easy. This supports Cummins' (2000) idea of the necessity of a certain threshold of proficiency in the learners' L1 and L2 before the learners can transfer skills from their L1 and L2 to their L3; this however, does not apply to Jasmina who is proficient in both her L1 and L2, but possibly have not had the correct tools to transfer her skills from her L1/L2 to her L3. In terms of the students having felt embarrassed speaking their mother tongue as young, only two participants responded having felt that in the questionnaire; however, more statements throughout the interviews and observations support the fact that a majority of these students have experienced a subtractive learning situation. In addition, the results concerning the students' exposure to Turkish at home were rather mixed; in particular given the fact that half the students reported having two mother tongues. Finally, the last statements from the interviews and observations pertained to the students' use of translanguaging as a cognitive strategy or language practice in English and/or German/French class; here the majority of the students appeared to be using translanguaging as a cognitive strategy in German/French class; whereas with respect to English class, only the students with high Turkish proficiency skills appeared to be using translanguaging as a language practice.

In the final part of this chapter, we saw that the results from the three cases support the complexity associated with the students' English levels. Here the results based on the students' statements indicate that all three students (Jasmina: *low*; Furkan: *intermediate*; and Danyal: *high*) appear to have experienced a subtractive learning situation. Despite of this, Jasmina and Danyal appear to utilize the same learning strategies in English class, namely translanguaging as a language practice where they both utilize their L1 (Turkish) as well as their L2 (Danish). In terms of the rest of the nine participants and their use of their entire linguistic repertory of skills, the results showed that the utilization of translanguaging in English class seemed not to be dependent on the students' English proficiency level, but rather their Turkish skills. In this manner, the students who reported having two mother tongues (Turkish + Kurdish/Bosnian) – and those who were less skilled in Turkish – were less likely to utilize translanguaging, which may be due to their limited exposure to the Turkish language from home.

While the results from this qualitative analysis demonstrated that high proficiency skills in the learners' L1 (Turkish and Turkish + Kurdish/Bosnian) and in their L2 (Danish), as well as having L1 literacy skills, do not define the students' English skills (their L3), many other factors should be considered as well; wherefore each participant should be considered separately when trying to understand their English levels. These 12 students had in common that neither of them had ever experienced being prompted or encouraged to utilize their mother tongue in language learning classes, and in some instances even discouraged to use it.

Here a pedagogical practice that explicitly encourages students to utilize their linguistic resources and acknowledges and embraces linguistic and cultural diversity within the classroom would indeed help students experience an additive learning situation which ultimately impacts the students' English skills. Accordingly, the results presented here suggest that a reform vis-à-vis widespread pedagogical practices in Denmark would be a useful step moving forward.

## Chapter 8. Discussion

The present two-part study sought to examine plurilingual students' English proficiency as their L3, and whether there is a correlation between the plurilinguals' proficiency level in their three languages. Moreover, it examined whether plurilinguals who were literate in their mother tongues had superior English skills.

An additional goal of the qualitative study was to further understand these results in depth by investigating learning strategies used amongst students with different English proficiency levels; thus it was examined whether there were signs of the plurilingual students utilizing translanguaging in English classes and whether this usage was connected to their level of proficiency in their three languages.

The results of the quantitative study did not support the initial hypotheses; namely that plurilinguals would display superior English skills (as their L3) and that the plurilinguals with L1 literacy skills would display more advanced English skills relative to monolinguals and plurilinguals with no L1 literacy skills. On the contrary, the statistical analysis demonstrated that the monolingual students scored significantly higher than both plurilinguals with L1 literacy skills and plurilinguals who were non-literate in their L1 on the English test; whereas the difference between plurilinguals with L1 literacy skills and those with no L1 literacy skills in terms of English scores was not significant. However, the plurilinguals with no L1 literacy skills scored slightly higher than the plurilinguals with literacy skills.

With respect to the effect of the various variables on the students' test scores, the statistical analyses revealed that *SES*, *linguistic background*<sup>165</sup>, *motivation*, *academic achievement* and *receptive exposure to English* correlated significantly with high performance on the English test. These variables were entered into the regression analysis and showed that *SES*, *linguistic background*, *motivation* and *academic achievement* were all independent predictors of scoring highly on the test.

However, no significant correlates were detected when observing the raw scores from the qualitative analysis; these results merely add to the complexity surrounding the 12 participants' learning situations. Moreover, despite the quantitative data revealing that L1 literacy does not result in enhanced English skills, this variable could not be assessed in the qualitative analysis given that

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<sup>165</sup> Based on students' self-reporting whether they consider themselves monolingual or plurilingual.

all 12 students had L1 literacy skills. Furthermore, no correlations were detected between the 12 students' English scores and their Danish scores or between their English scores and Turkish scores.

In terms of signs of the students deploying translanguageing (using all of their linguistic resources) as a strategy in English class, the observations as well as the students' own statements indicated that all 12 students made use of translanguageing. Here only the students with high level of Turkish skills – and thus, not those with low Turkish skills – made use of their Turkish skills in English class; notably, this is related to Cummins (2000) upper threshold theory given that those who have a certain level of proficiency in Turkish, can apply these competences. When a learner has acquired a certain level (upper threshold) of proficiency in a language, the processes he or she would use resemble those of a knowledge-transformer (using top-down processes). This supports the idea that the students with less proficient Turkish skills, did not apply their Turkish skills in English class; not having acquired an upper level of threshold in a certain language makes it too cognitively demanding for the learner to apply those skills. The students with low Turkish skills appeared to draw on their Danish skills, using transfer from Danish to English.

The fact that the plurilinguals scored significantly lower than the monolinguals on the English tests fall in line with the findings in Denmark (see chapter 6) where the general findings (although these findings are not based on actual research studies, but on results from school leaving exams etc.) appear to suggest that bilinguals with minority language background present poor results in school relative to their monolingual peers; in particular in English achievement. These results stand in contrast to the widespread notion that bilingualism promotes advantages in the area of L3 acquisition; thus, the results from the current study cannot – for instance – offer support to research by Bild and Swain (1989), Cenoz and Valencia (1994) and Sanz (2000), who all reported that bilinguals had advantages in terms of L3 proficiency.

However, it should be kept in mind that many of the studies claiming superiority of bilingualism, included bilinguals whose L1 and L2 were both official languages in their given country (e.g. Cenoz, 1991; Lasagabaster, 1997; Sanz, 2000 as cited in Cenoz, 2003); and who, most likely, have experienced an additive form of bilingualism, which ultimately promotes identity negotiations (Cummins, 2001), cognitive growth and language acquisition (Cummins, 1976). As we have previously discussed, the specific languages of the bilingual/plurilingual appear to play a role in terms of the learner experiencing an additive or subtractive learning process.

Additive bilingualism often entails learning a second language for the mere purpose of becoming bilingual and in the future making use of both languages; thus, this type of bilingualism has a positive effect on the learners' cognition and on third language acquisition. On the other hand, subtractive bilingualism is often found among members of a minority language group being forced to learn a second language; here their first language is often replaced by their second language, ultimately impacting the learner's cognitive functioning negatively (Cummins, 1976).

In the current study, the majority of the plurilinguals had immigrant language background and due to their low results on the English tests, it may be assumed that many of them have experienced a subtractive learning situation during their school years, presumably affecting their L3 proficiency negatively. However, this conclusion should be drawn cautiously given that the assumption is based on the plurilinguals' English test results and that the majority of the plurilinguals' mother tongues are immigrant languages. In order to establish whether the plurilinguals (who had low scores in the quantitative data) have actually experienced a subtractive learning situation, further analysis is needed – i.e., examining how they have experienced being plurilingual in the context of Denmark – similar to the analysis conducted for the qualitative analysis (this will be discussed later on).

Another point that is raised in the research – which I have looked at – concerns bilinguals'/plurilinguals' proficiency levels in their two languages (L1 and L2). For instance, Pearl and Lambert (1962) and Cummins (1978) argued for the importance of including bilinguals who were balanced in their two languages in order to properly compare them with monolinguals. This is somewhat related to Cummins' (1976, 2000) threshold hypothesis<sup>166</sup>, which emphasizes the importance of the learners' L1 and L2 proficiency level in order for their bilingualism to have an advantageous effect on their cognitive functioning and L3 acquisition. In fact, Cummins (1976) claims the necessity of the bilingual having developed high levels of competence in his or her L1 and L2 (upper threshold) in order for the learner to experience that bilingualism affects the cognitive development positively. This pertains to the students in this (qualitative) study's L1 as well as their Danish (L2).

In the quantitative study, the plurilinguals were asked to indicate the amount of receptive exposure to and productive use of their mother tongue (L1) as well as their L1 use at home; and it may be argued that these variables could give a hint regarding their L1 proficiency level, given the

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<sup>166</sup> See section 4.6.

assumption that plurilinguals who have a high level of exposure as well as productive use of their L1 have a high threshold level in their L1.

Looking at the raw data (from the quantitative analysis)<sup>167</sup>, we see that the plurilinguals' productive use of their L1 is low; that is, they all (100%) claim using it "very seldom"/"never", while the majority claim high exposure to their L1 (98.64%) i.e. being exposed to L1 "all the time"/"half the time". The variable *L1 use at home* showed that 85% belong to the high group indicating that they use it "all the time"/"half the time". Based on these results it is hard to determine how actively they use their L1 on a daily basis and impossible to judge their L1 proficiency level. However, it is remarkable that the students seem to have a frequent receptive use of their L1, but very little productive use. This may be connected to their proficiency level in their L1 – production being harder than comprehension (according to the output hypothesis (Swain, 1995)) – but also to identity issues and language attitudes related to their minority situation. Nevertheless, these conclusions should be drawn cautiously, and although this will remain as an assumption, it could be argued that a potential low level of L1 proficiency may also explain their low English proficiency (based on the English test results). Additionally, it should be kept in mind that these results – similar to the other results based on the questionnaires – are based on the plurilinguals' own reporting with respect to how much they are exposed to their L1 and how much they use it productively, and hence the answers given by the participants may be subjective

As mentioned before, the statistical analyses revealed that *SES, linguistic background*<sup>168</sup>, *motivation, academic achievement* and *receptive exposure to English* correlated significantly with high performance on the English test; and when entered into the regression analysis the results showed that *SES, linguistic background, motivation* and *academic achievement* were all independent predictors of scoring highly on the test.

When initially recruiting participants for the study, their socioeconomic status (SES) was a concern when selecting schools, and thus, I attempted to collect data from both the northern part of Copenhagen (Nordsjælland), where the average SES is perceived to be higher as well as other parts of Copenhagen where the SES is considered much lower (e.g. Vestegnen, Nordvest, Sydhavnen). However, what became apparent was that the monolinguals and plurilinguals were overall divided into the areas perceived to have high SES vs. areas perceived to have low SES. In other words, the

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<sup>167</sup> See Table 3.

<sup>168</sup> Based on students' self-reporting whether they consider themselves monolingual or plurilingual.



majority of the students in the schools in Nordsjælland were monolinguals and the majority of students in Vestegnen, Nordvest and Sydhavnen were plurilinguals. Nonetheless, these results indicate that there is a correlation between SES and their English test results, but it cannot be concluded for sure whether the participants' SES causes their English test results. However, a few observations during my data collection further emphasize the power of SES with regards to their test results. While some of the classes in Nordsjælland did not include any plurilinguals, one of the classes did include three plurilinguals. What was noteworthy here was that one of these plurilinguals had among the highest scores out of all of the participants included in the study (out of 232 students). The teacher in that particular class presented her as an exceptionally brilliant student who had the highest grades in all other subjects compared to all the other ninth grade classes at the school. She further added that she had the impression of the student as being very strong in her mother tongue (Somali) and in general proud of her roots and background. Although this report from the teacher should be interpreted cautiously, it is still interesting to note that this student appears proficient in her L1, possibly experiencing an additive learning situation due to her confidence (possibly based on positive feedback/input) regarding her cultural roots and L1, which perhaps have affected her English achievements positively. The other two plurilinguals in that class had average English test scores (relative to the rest of the 232 students); however, in that given class, their test scores were the lowest compared to the others. When looking at their SES, two of them had average SES scores (the one with the highest scores and one with average) and one had low SES; the rest of the class (monolinguals) all had high SES. From these results, it may be inferred that the school environment also affects the students and their English proficiency (regardless of their SES). We will discuss school pedagogy later on.

As mentioned, the initial hypothesis that the plurilinguals with L1 literacy skills would display more advanced L3 skills relative to the plurilinguals with no L1 literacy skills was not supported.

For instance we saw that Swain et al. (1990) found a statistically significant difference between the participants, who were literate in their L1 and those who were non-literate, on their L3 skills and that L1 literacy had a positive impact on third language learning independent of that of general L1 proficiency. In another study, Rauch, Naumann and Jude (2012) tested the result of L1 and L2 literacy skills on L3 reading proficiency skills in German and Turkish-German secondary school students and found that the fully biliterate students outperformed the monolinguals and partially biliterate students in both L3 reading proficiency and metalinguistic awareness.

A reason why L1 literacy plays a role for the bilingual/plurilingual's L3 skills may be related to the threshold hypothesis. It could be argued that bilinguals/plurilinguals who are literate in their L1 have attained an *upper level* of proficiency in their L1 and L2, which ultimately may affect their cognitive development positively resulting in more advanced L3 skills.

In the current quantitative study, the statistical analysis demonstrated that the biliterate plurilinguals scored slightly lower than both monolinguals and the plurilinguals with no L1 literacy skills. This rather unexpected result might be due to a methodological issue; the result is based on the plurilinguals' own report whether they can write in their L1 or not, and hence the answers given by the participants may be subjective. Some may have interpreted being able to write in their L1 as having the ability to read and write simple words or sentences while others may have a more realistic view on what literacy skills entails. Thus, in order to investigate the effect of L1 literacy skills on the students' L3 skills, further analysis of their L1 must be conducted.

As mentioned previously, the purpose of the qualitative study was to go into depth with some of the data from the quantitative analysis, and try to understand the complexity that lies behind the plurilinguals' English proficiency skills.

Overall, the results from the qualitative study showed that no clear correlations exist in terms of the participants' skills in their L1, L2 and L3. For instance, we saw Jasmina, who had among the highest scores in the Turkish test (out of the 12 students), and also relatively high Danish test scores, but also the lowest English test scores (out of the 12 students). In the other end, there is a participant like Baris, who had the highest English test scores (out of the 12 students), and among the lowest Turkish test scores (out of the 12 students), and also high Danish test scores. Generally, all 12 students had above average Danish test scores, but their English and Turkish test scores did not seem to follow a specific pattern. Instead, it appears that various other factors have affected their skills in Turkish and English. For instance, there is a tendency for the participants who have low exposure to Turkish from home – either because they have more than one mother tongue (Kurdish or Bosnian) or because they have primarily been exposed to Danish at home – to score lower on the Turkish test. As for their English test scores, the picture is much more complex. For instance, according to the threshold theory (Cummins, 2000), a student like Jasmina would have been expected to excel in her L3 (English) given her high level of both L1 and L2. Hence, it is apparent that many other factors have co-affected their English proficiency skills.

One factor that appears to have affected the participants, is the pedagogical context in which they were a part of. In this regard, the assumption that many of the plurilingual students in the present study may have suffered from a subtractive learning situation – based on the quantitative data – is further emphasized by the qualitative investigation.

Here the results suggest that many of the students may have experienced a subtractive learning situation. This is inferred from various statements made by the students about feeling a sense of embarrassment and discomfort when speaking their mother tongue in public. Jasmina, for instance, stated that she perceived it as rude and disrespectful to speak Turkish amongst ethnic Danes, while Furkan and Danyal reported feeling judged as non-intelligent by ethnic Danes if they spoke Turkish in public; since it would reveal their bilingual/plurilingual status. Furkan continued expressing his discomfort by claiming that he would not feel comfortable speaking his mother tongue in front of ethnic Danes since that would make him feel like he did not belong in Denmark. This appears to be connected to the issue of language shame – which we discussed earlier<sup>169</sup> – which is when students feel shame about their mother tongue and hence, hesitance to speak it in front of others.

Nevertheless, the statements seem to indicate that these students may have experienced a subtractive learning situation. Moreover, there are other signs suggesting that the students had undergone a subtractive learning situation. This includes the students' accounts of how they felt that their mother tongues were either irrelevant in school contexts or that they had been discouraged to make use of it. All of this fits well with the notion of immigrant languages being the only languages that are discriminated against implicitly and explicitly in the Danish academic discourse (Daryai-Hansen, 2011; Kristjansdóttir & Timm, 2018), which consequently might affect the identity of students identifying with these languages and hereunder their self-worth and self-esteem.

The matter of identity and identity formation seem, on the whole, to be an issue for the participants. For instance, Furkan's statement about not feeling that he belonged in Denmark when he spoke his mother tongue in public – despite being born in Denmark, and his parents speaking Danish to him at home the majority of the time – indicates that he may still be in search for his identity. Yet he appears to partly equate his identity with his Turkish roots. This is emphasized by his account of feeling inadequate about his low mother tongue proficiency skills and that he considered it important to become better at Turkish; i.e., since the Turkish language and his Turkish roots are part of his identity.

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<sup>169</sup> See section 7.7. (Research ethics)

As we have previously seen, researchers (e.g. Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Cummins, 2009) have discussed how children of immigrants, as the newest members of society, are highly preoccupied with finding their place and creating a sense of purpose of who they are. In this regard, Portes and Rumbaut's (2001) process of selective acculturation – which allows the shift in culture to occur more slowly in addition to supporting the preservation of the parents' norms and home languages – yielded positive effects on their participants' self-esteem as well as on their academic achievement. Hence, part of selective acculturation - which entails supporting the preservation of the parents' norms and home languages – may be an approach that could positively impact the students in my study in various ways. By being grounded in the culture and language of their heritage, in addition to having a sense of it being acknowledged in school contexts, along with having knowledge of the culture and language of the country they live in, may be a method that would aid plurilingual students establish their place in the world and hence experience a more additive learning process. It may very well be a method for a student such as Furkan to feel accepted and experience positive feedback with regards to his attachment to his heritage, presumably leaving him with higher self-esteem and belief in his own capabilities, ultimately affecting his academic abilities positively.

Exploring the use of translanguageing – i.e. drawing on all their linguistic resources – as a learning strategy in English class – amongst the 12 students, proved to be more challenging than initially assumed. While observing the use of translanguageing as a language practice – with the addition of self-reports from students claiming utilizing translanguageing as a language practice – appeared somewhat more accessible, observing signs of translanguageing as a cognitive strategy was more challenging.

The qualitative study revealed that the use of translanguageing, in particular the use of the participants' L1, was unrelated to their English proficiency skills, but connected to their Turkish abilities. Thus, the results demonstrated that while the students who had low Turkish skills did not utilize Turkish as a resource, the students with high Turkish skills made use of all of their linguistic resources as a language practice and – presumably – also as a cognitive strategy in English class. In addition, the students with low English competence appeared to transfer, which is also viewed as a translanguageing tool, from Danish to English – a strategy that was not used among the students with high English competence. Thus, translanguageing practices which take into account all of the students' linguistic resources vary and seem related to the level of proficiency of all three languages involved.

Although some of the students appear to be using translanguaging in English class, some of their statements indicated that they did not feel content about it, which may even be interpreted as though they do it in secrecy. In that case, it once more underscores the fact that they may have experienced a subtractive learning process. This is for instance evident when looking at Danyal's statement: *I have experienced peer-pressure and that I cannot use my mother tongue in school, and that here in Denmark, we have to speak Danish (...) Our teachers want us to learn English through Danish and not through for example Turkish*<sup>170</sup>. It seems that he, not only, feels that his peers do not approve of him using his Turkish language but also his teachers. His statements appear to conflict with his persona as well as his proficient English and Turkish skills. On the one hand, Danyal seems to be a well-adjusted, bright plurilingual student who utilizes translanguaging as a cognitive strategy in various contexts. On the other hand, he appears to have experienced a subtractive learning situation where he feels that his linguistic background and, thus, part of his identity is rejected in school contexts.

Along the same lines, Jasmina reported that she was told not to speak Turkish in school, as it would be rude to speak a language others would not understand. This seems to have altered Jasmina's perception of language use in a negative manner. Although Jasmina reported using translanguaging as a tool, the frequency by which she uses this strategy, and thus her Turkish skills, would likely have been much greater had she been acknowledged for using her mother tongue in English class.

Therefore, the results derived from the various observations and statements all suggest a complex situation where generalizations cannot be made as to why some students are more proficient than others in terms of English skills and in terms of drawing on their respective language resources. Each student should be considered individually, in the attempt to disentangle the factors contributing to his or her English capabilities.

What seems to be apparent – when analysing the data from the 12 participants – is the students' tendency to keep their languages separated the majority of the time. This approach contradicts the translanguaging strategy and also – to a certain degree – the Council of Europe's categorization of "plurilinguals". The Council of Europe's CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) distinguishes between the linguistic diversity of a geographical region (multilingualism) and the linguistic competence of an individual (plurilingualism) (Council of Europe, 2001)<sup>171</sup>.

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<sup>170</sup> For transcription see Appendix H, section 3.

<sup>171</sup> For more on The Council of Europe's CEFR definition of multilingualism and plurilingualism see chapter 2.

The students' separation of their languages could be argued is a consequence of the Danish discourse that makes a sharp division between languages. Thus, it may be argued that they are met with the idea of making sharp distinctions between their languages, which apparently affects their language practice – and presumably also their cognitive strategy in language learning class. Hence, it seemed apparent why the students were not utilizing all of their linguistic resources in school context – in particular in English class – much more frequently.

Moreover, the Danish discourse's sharp distinction between the languages and, as previously mentioned, discrimination of the immigrant languages, is consistent with the idea that the plurilinguals experienced a subtractive learning situation.

This is further highlighted when taking Kristjansdottir's discourse analysis (2018) into account. In her analysis, she demonstrates how the Danish government's regulations and guidelines favour an assimilation policy where minority language groups do not have the same conditions as the majority. Furthermore, she discusses how the Danish curriculum lacks linguistic, cultural and social rights and opportunities for minority groups (Kristjansdottir, 2018).

Thus, the pedagogical practice in Danish schools is centred around a "mainstreaming" approach that does not take the minority students' languages or cultural backgrounds into account, which eventually affects the minority students negatively in various ways (Holmen, 2015). In Danish schools, the Danish language is generally very dominant, hereunder in English class as well as in other foreign language classes. Hence, all students have to learn English or other foreign languages though Danish, with no consideration for the students' linguistic backgrounds. Here the plurilingual students – in particular those with proficient mother tongues – would presumably gain from being able to draw on their mother tongue instead of only learning the foreign languages through Danish as it may appear as a detour for some plurilingual students. This may very well be the case with Jasmina who – as discussed a few times – is very advanced in her mother tongue, but has never met any encouragement in school context to utilize it, and in fact been told to tune down her usage of Turkish in school property.

According to Cummins (2009) societal power relations influence how teachers define their roles (teacher identity) and the structure of schooling which then affect the way teachers interact with linguistically and culturally diverse students. As previously discussed, the interpersonal space – that is formed by the interactions between teachers and students – is where learning and identity negotiation occurs. Those identity negotiations may either strengthen power relations or support

collective relations of power (Cummins, 2009). In this regard, Cummins (2009) suggests the use of e.g. plurilingual identity-texts as a method to build on students' literacy resources while supporting their personal identity and aiding their development of an additional language. Furthermore, he suggests a focus on teacher-student interactions to empower students. This approach is used in parts of Canada that are culturally and linguistically highly heterogeneous.

In fact, it appears that the pedagogical practice in Denmark stands in sharp contrast to that of many multicultural schools in Canada. The immigrant population in Canada has expanded over recent years, which has altered the demographics to a more pronounced diversity of the Canadian population's ethno-cultural characteristics. This distinctiveness is gradually becoming more apparent when looking at the day-care centres and schools where there is a great mix of Canadian children of all backgrounds <sup>172</sup>.

Thus, researchers (e.g. Cummins, 2009, 2014) have been occupied with suggesting reformation of parts of the educational system to accommodate the diversity of students. An example of a pedagogical approach that considers the diversity of the students' linguistic and cultural background – which has been implemented in some schools in Canada with positive results – centres around the identity-texts just mentioned above. This accommodating approach to students with minority background has proven to positively affect their self-esteem, self-worth and ultimately school achievements (Cummins, 2009, 2014; Cummins et al. 2005).

In light of this knowledge, I found it compelling to visit some of the multicultural schools in Canada and experience how their pedagogical approaches differ from the Danish.

During my stay, I had the opportunity to visit an elementary school and a high school in two relatively multicultural areas in Canada as well converse with a school board's ESL consultant who additionally invited me to participate in a dual language book<sup>173</sup> production session.

The visits and conversations supported the assumption about multicultural schools in Canada having a more accommodating school policy, which is reflected in the pedagogy that embraces diversity as a strength. The schools' external appearances were strongly influenced by the diversity of the students' linguistic and cultural background, which was reflected in posters and signs – visible on classroom walls and in school corridors exclaiming *diversity as a force* and

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<sup>172</sup> <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/98-200-x/2016015/98-200-x2016015-eng.cfm>

<sup>173</sup> These were short narratives the students wrote in English and in their mother tongue in collaboration with their parents (one version of identity texts)

*plurilingualism as an asset* in many languages – as well as many other creative projects displaying diversity as a positive feature. The teachers emphasized all of this as highly essential for the students to experience acknowledgement and consequently an additive learning environment. Moreover, the school board's ESL consultant stressed the importance of the dual language books in order for the students to feel that their mother tongues were being acknowledged and seen as a positive feature as well as something they could feel proud of. A further goal of these books was – accordingly – to encourage the students to make use of their mother tongues in school related matters.

Thus, all of this confirms that the educational system and the pedagogical strategies in some Canadian schools differ drastically from that of the Danish; and apparently, this also reflected in the results of the plurilingual students' school achievements. While the data from the current study did not support a great many of research studies claiming bilingual/plurilingual superiority in terms of L3 proficiency (e.g. Bild and Swain, 1989; Cenoz and Valencia, 1994 & Sanz, 2000), the Canadian teachers, whom I talked with, claimed that the plurilingual students were much more proficient in French as their L3 relative to the monolinguals' French as their L2. In fact, they claimed plurilingual superiority in almost all of the facets of school related subjects. Although the teachers' statements support a great amount of studies displaying bilingual/plurilingual superiority in their L3, a more thorough examination of the respective students and studies from more schools would be necessary in order to conclude bilingual/plurilingual superiority in the context of Canada.

Meanwhile, the results from my visit to Canada as well as the results based on the current study, all point in one direction; namely, the essence of an additive learning environment – established through a pedagogy that acknowledges the students' background – in order for plurilinguals to experience advantages of their linguistic background. An additive learning environment would lead to identity negotiation and thus, acknowledgement of the plurilingual students' diverse backgrounds ultimately affecting their self-worth and self-esteem as well as their learning/cognitive function positively. The students in this study reported never having been encouraged to use their mother tongue in English class or in school in general, and in many cases, they reported being discouraged to use it. Although the study cannot provide evidence that the pedagogical context – which they have been part of over the years – have influenced the participants and in many ways shaped them, many of the reflections from the students, which we have discussed previously, could give us that exact indication. For instance, the case of Jasmina may paint a picture of a student who has not received the appropriate attention and scaffolding – and much less encouragement to utilize her



linguistic resources – during her school years. According to her teacher, she is a very bright student who excels in all other matters in school except for English; and according to her Turkish test scores, she is highly proficient in Turkish as well. She reported being at the same level as her classmates in English until a certain point where they had switched English teachers many times; in seventh grade a new teacher expected them to be at a very high level, which Jasmina reported she could not follow so she, more or less, gave up. This example may support the fact that the Ministry of Education's Common Objectives in English are too focused on the students applying English in new contexts every year, which naturally would make sense if all students were at the same level, but would surely cause difficulties for those who need more time on a more basic level. It is for instance expected that students already know English in for instance seventh grade – where Jasmina started having troubles with the language – which may be the reason why their new teacher at that point focused on facilitating their English language use with new and specific purposes instead of organizing and scaffolding their language learning. While English has become a language, which every student is expected to know at a very early age, the gap between those who are at a high level and those who are struggling becomes greater. This creates an environment where fluency is highly prioritized ultimately leading those who are struggling to pronounce words or form even simple sentences to become silent. This appears to be the case with Jasmina who due to her difficulties forming simple sentences chooses to keep quiet and when talked to in English, she mostly responds in Danish.

The data from Jasmina – as well as many of the other 12 participants in the qualitative study – may suggest that the pedagogical practise has not supported their language learning process, and in the case of Jasmina even neglected her. It may be assumed that she would have benefited from a pedagogy that would have included scaffolding and an encouragement where she is encouraged to utilize all of her linguistic resources, in particular seeing that she is so advanced in her mother tongue. In addition, a student like her would surely have benefited from more positive feedback over the years which would have positively affected her confidence and possibly aided her to belief enough in herself to dare to speak English in class despite her low level English skills.

All things considered, the results based on the 12 students in the qualitative study all emphasize the fact that no generalizations can be made with respect to why some of the plurilinguals have more advanced English skills compared to others; however, one common denominator appears to be that the majority of the students have experienced a somewhat subtractive learning situation with different outcomes.

Thus, these results indicate the need of upholding a pedagogical development in teacher education as well as in the further education and training towards a more holistic view and approach to linguistic diversity; this should be incorporated into the Ministry of Education's Common Objectives where the view on plurilingualism is not expressed as a resource. By applying a view and an approach that consider linguistic diversity as an asset in the Ministry of Education's Common Objectives, the teachers would need to alter their view and approach to plurilingualism and hence implement a more holistic and accommodating pedagogical practice that embraces the linguistic and cultural diversity within the schools.

### ***8.1. Limitations, implications and further research***

As most other research studies, this study has some limitations and some weaknesses that should be considered in future research in the area of plurilingualism and L3 proficiency.

One of the limitations of this study includes the unequal distribution of plurilingual ( $n = 148$ ) versus monolingual ( $n = 85$ ) participants. However, it was not possible to ascertain the distribution of monolinguals and plurilinguals present in each class prior to data collection. In addition, in spite of the overall sample being decent in size, a larger sample size would have been ideal.

This study targeted schools from various regions of Copenhagen. However, one of the drawbacks was that the majority of the monolinguals were from areas with high SES. This may have influenced the results, as the statistical analysis revealed a higher SES among the monolinguals, as well as, high SES predicting high scores on the English tests. In addition, the data might have been affected by the fact that the participants were recruited from urban and suburban areas.

Accordingly, the sample may have been too homogenous. Future studies would benefit from targeting a broader geographical region, including schools in rural areas to get a more representative sample of the student population of Denmark.

The test used for measuring the participants' general proficiency in English constitutes a limitation of the quantitative study. Vocabulary tests have been used by other researchers (e.g. Albrechtsen et al., 2008) to measure general English proficiency, and hence may be considered a reliable measure. However, the utilization of this test to measure general proficiency is also rather limited compared to the number of other tests used by researchers. Aside from the vocabulary test, a reading test was administered in the study to measure the receptive part of literacy only. Thus, no claims can be

made about the participants' productive skills, namely, their oral and writing skills in the quantitative study. In order to get a more realistic assessment of the participants' English skills, it is necessary to test and compare the receptive and productive sides of the participants' abilities.

The research question regarding literacy skills in the plurilinguals' L1 was solely based on the plurilingual students' responses in the questionnaires. Thus, their answers are subjective, and dependent on their understanding of what literacy entails. Some may conceive having writing skills in their L1 as being able to write simple words, whereas others may have a more realistic view and consider writing skills as being able to produce longer written texts without stumbling over every other word. This may have affected the results in this study, which did not support the idea that L1 literacy skills results in more proficient L3 skills relative to those who are illiterate in their L1. The fact that the L1 illiterate plurilinguals scored slightly higher than the biliterate plurilinguals suggest that the concept of being literate in a language is defined differently from student to student. Thus, although it would be comprehensive, the study could have benefited from further analysis of the plurilingual participants' L1 writing skills.

The current study only focused on the students and their language use, experiences with their languages and language proficiency level via testing, observations and self-reports. However, a perspective including observations of class activities and the learning objectives (they entail) as well as observations on matters regarding the students receiving feedback, scolding and encouragement to utilize their linguistic recourses as well as whether any focus is on cross-linguistic awareness, may contribute to strengthening the assumption regarding the students having experienced a subtractive learning environment. The conclusion drawn from this study that a great many of the participants – in the qualitative study – has undergone a subtractive learning situation, is solely based on the students and their experiences and not on the quality of the teaching and the pedagogy they have been part of. Here a longitudinal study, in particular, with focus on the pedagogy in the English classroom could yield some interesting findings possibly supporting the claim of minority language students experiencing a subtractive learning environment and potentially leading to recommendations for teacher education.

Finally, the study could have benefited from including analysis of relevant official Danish documents; e.g., the Ministry of Education's Common Objectives, legislation on primary school as well as other ruling documents in order to investigate whether the documents have any focus on cross-linguistic awareness, translanguaging, inclusion of students' mother tongues or other inclusive

pedagogical tools. Although the current study does draw on Daryai-Hansen's (2010) analysis of the Danish discourse, an analysis of relevant official Danish documents may have contributed to the view that Denmark provides a subtractive learning environment to minority language students.

## Chapter 9. Conclusion

Based on the lack of research on plurilinguals' English competence as their L3 in the context of Denmark, the purpose of this study was initially to examine plurilingual students' English proficiency relative to the English proficiency skills of their monolingual peers as their L2. As plurilingual learners' competence levels in the languages they know often appears to be interrelated, another goal of this study was to examine whether there is a correlation between the plurilinguals' proficiency level in their three languages?

In addition, as we have learned, previous research has shown the relationship between having literacy skills in the learners' first language and their third language proficiency skills. Thus, in this regard, a goal was to investigate whether literacy skills in the plurilinguals' first language enhances L3 proficiency.

Finally, a goal was to explore in more depth plurilinguals with different English proficiency levels and examine whether there are signs of them utilizing translanguageing (the usage of their entire linguistic repertory of skills) in the English classroom; and also, whether the use of translanguageing is connected to their level of proficiency in their three languages?

**Therefore, the research questions investigated in this study were the following:**

*1a) What is the level and composition of plurilingual students' English proficiency skills compared to their monolingual peers'?*

*1b) Is there a correlation between the plurilinguals' proficiency level in their three languages?*

*2) Is third language learning enhanced through literacy in one's first language?*

*3a) Are there signs of the plurilingual students utilizing translanguageing in the English classroom?*

*3b) Is the plurilinguals' use of translanguageing connected to their level of proficiency in their three languages?*

To assess the participants' general English proficiency, an English vocabulary test was administered – this type of test as a measure of general English proficiency has been used previously by researchers (e.g. Albrechtsen et al., 2008) – in addition to a reading test, assessing the participants' reading abilities.

The results of the quantitative investigation showed that the monolinguals scored significantly higher than the plurilingual group on both the vocabulary test (general proficiency) as well as on the reading test. In addition, the quantitative analysis did not support the hypothesis that plurilinguals with L1 literacy skills would possess superior English skills relative to monolinguals and plurilinguals who were not literate in their L1. Instead, the results showed that the monolinguals scored higher than plurilinguals with L1 literacy skills on the English tests and that the plurilinguals with L1 literacy skills scored slightly lower than biliterate plurilinguals on the English test.

Out of the plurilingual group, a sub-group was formed comprising plurilinguals ( $n = 34$ ) with Turkish L1; this group was compared to the monolinguals and the plurilinguals with a different linguistic background than Turkish. The sub-group analyses showed that the monolinguals scored higher than the plurilinguals with Turkish L1 on the English tests; and that the plurilinguals with Turkish L1 did not differ from the plurilinguals with another L1 than Turkish.

As for the variables and their effect on the students' test scores, the statistical analyses revealed that *SES*, *linguistic background*<sup>174</sup>, *motivation*, *academic achievement* and *receptive exposure to English* correlated significantly with high performance on the English test. A regression analysis showed that *SES*, *linguistic background*, *motivation* and *academic achievement* were all independent predictors of scoring highly on the English test. However, these variables did not appear to play a role for the students' English proficiency skills when examining the raw data in the qualitative analysis.

Furthermore, no specific correlates were found in terms of the 12 students' English and Danish scores, as well as their Turkish scores. For instance, in terms of their Danish scores, the gaps between the three groups were not very clear and all three groups scored above average on the Danish tests. As for the participants' Turkish scores a different pattern appears. Here having one or two mother tongues and the amount of exposure to each of the languages appears to play a role for the students' Turkish test scores. Overall, the students with two mother tongues (Turkish +

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<sup>174</sup> Based on students' self-reporting whether they consider themselves monolingual or plurilingual.

Kurdish/Bosnian) scored lower on the Turkish test relative to the plurilinguals with only Turkish L1.

These results stand in contrast to a great number of studies which have found an association between bilingualism/plurilingualism and advanced L3 skills (e.g. Bild & Swain, 1989; Cenoz & Valencia, 1994; Sanz, 2000). However, many of those studies showing bilingual superiority included bilingual participants whose L1 and L2 were both official languages in their respective countries. Thus, in these cases, the bilinguals may have experienced an additive learning situation where they have been able to add their L2 to their repertory of skills, which consequently affects their cognitive development and L3 acquisition in a positive manner (Cummins, 1976).

The majority of the plurilingual students in this study had immigrant language background, it is therefore highly plausible that many of them may have experienced a subtractive learning situation, which ultimately may have affected their L3 acquisition negatively. This is further highlighted when taking the qualitative data into account. On the basis of various statements derived from the 12 participants, it may be assumed that a majority of them experienced a subtractive learning situation. This pertains to statements about feeling uncomfortable when speaking their mother tongue in public, as well as feeling exposed as non-intelligent by the majority ethnic Danes when using their Turkish outside the home.

When investigating whether translanguaging was used as a learning strategy by the plurilingual students, the results showed that the majority of the 12 students utilized translanguaging during English class. The results showed that while all students used their Danish as a resource in English class, only the students who had strong Turkish proficiency skills utilized their Turkish as a language practice and, to a certain degree, also as a cognitive strategy in English class. However, the same students who reported using their Turkish as resource in English class also reported having been told not to use their Turkish on school property, and that they had to learn English through Danish and not through Turkish which perhaps might have been a detour for some of these students. Therefore, it may be inferred that these students did not utilize translanguaging as frequently as would have been the case if they had been acknowledged for using their mother tongues, or, at least, perceived that the majority language group (Danes) was accepting of their use of Turkish. Moreover, the results indicated that the plurilinguals with less proficient Turkish skills appeared to use transfer from Danish to English more often, which is also a language practice of translanguaging; but they almost never used their Turkish in English class. These results may

support the fact that the Danish language, in general, is dominant in the Danish school system, hereunder in English and other foreign language classes and that all students have to learn English or other foreign languages though Danish with no consideration for the students' linguistic backgrounds. Moreover, the results yield support to the threshold theory (Cummins, 2000) given that only the plurilinguals who have attained a high level of proficiency in their L1 (Turkish) are also able to utilize these skills in for instance English class.

Finally, while the data did not reveal any clear-cut patterns, as to why some students displayed more superior English skills than others, critically, the majority of them seemed to have undergone a subtractive learning situation – perhaps on various levels – ultimately resulting in diverse English skills.

On the whole, these results indicate the necessity of maintaining a pedagogical development in teacher education as well as in the further education and training towards a more holistic view and approach to linguistic diversity in order for plurilingual students to experience an additive learning environment. This should be incorporated into the Ministry of Education's Common Objectives where the view on plurilingualism is not expressed as a resource.

Incorporating a holistic view and approach which consider linguistic diversity as a resource in the Ministry of Education's Common Objectives would lead to need of a reform in the teachers' view and approach to plurilingualism and thus, an implementation of a more holistic and accommodating pedagogical practice that embraces the linguistic and cultural diversity within the schools. This would lead to the plurilingual students experiencing an additive learning environment ultimately affecting their identity, self-worth and cognitive/learning outcome positively.



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## APPENDIX A) Questionnaire – Monolingual version

Navn: \_\_\_\_\_

Skole: \_\_\_\_\_ klasse: \_\_\_\_\_

### Spørgsmål om dine kompetencer og holdninger til sprog

#### 1) Hvor meget engelsk hører, skriver og taler du i fritiden?

	Så ofte jeg kan	Ret ofte	En gang imellem	Sjældent	Aldrig
a) Ser du engelske tv programmer?					
a) Hører du engelsk musik?					
b) Skriver du engelsk med nogen, f.eks på Facebook eller SMS?					
b) Taler du engelsk med venner, familie eller bekendte?					

#### 2) I hvilket omfang læser du engelsk i fritiden?

	Så ofte jeg kan	Ret ofte	En gang imellem	Sjældent	Aldrig
<i>Romaner:</i>					
<i>Faglitteratur:</i>					
<i>Artikler på nettet:</i>					
<i>Andet (uddyb):</i>					

3) I hvilket omfang skriver du på engelsk i fritiden:

	Så ofte jeg kan	Ret ofte	En gang imellem	Sjældent	Aldrig
Breve:					
E-mails/Facebook beskeder:					
Dagbog:					
Andet (uddyb):					

4)

Tag stilling til hvert udsagn og sæt kryds ved det svar, der passer bedst til dig	Helt Enig	Delvist enig	Neutral	Uenig	Helt uenig
1. Jeg kan godt lide at høre engelsk					
2. Jeg kan godt lide at se engelsk tv					
3. Engelsk bør være obligatorisk i alle skoler					
4. Det er tidsspilde at læse meget engelsk					
5. Jeg kan godt lide at tale engelsk					
6. Engelsk er svært at lære					
7. Jeg kunne godt tænke mig bruge mit engelsk efter at jeg er færdiguddannet (i et fremtidigt job)					
8. Jeg ville ønske man talte engelsk ligeså meget som dansk her i landet					
9. Jeg kan godt lide at blive undervist i engelsk					
10. Hvis jeg får børn, håber jeg de bliver gode til engelsk					

5) Har du opholdt dig i et engelsktalende land i længere tid (mere end 2 uger)?

Hvor mange gange? \_\_\_\_\_

Hvor længe ? \_\_\_\_\_

I hvilken sammenhæng? \_\_\_\_\_

6) Hvad ligger dit karaktergennemsnit på? \_\_\_\_\_

Dine karakterer i engelsk:

Din sidste stil: \_\_\_\_\_

Din seneste standpunktskarakter: Mundtlig: \_\_\_\_\_ Skriftlig: \_\_\_\_\_

7) I hvilket omfang læser du DANSK i fritiden:

	Så ofte jeg kan	Ret ofte	En gang imellem	Sjældent	Aldrig
Avis					
Romaner:					
Faglitteratur:					
Artikler på nettet:					
Andet (uddyb):					

8) I hvilket omfang skriver du på DANSK i fritiden

	Så ofte jeg kan	Ret ofte	En gang imellem	Sjældent	Aldrig
Til skolebladet:					
Breve:					
E-mails:					
Dagbog:					
Andet (uddyb):					



9) Hvad er din mening om mennesker fra følgende lande, samt deres sprog – sæt en ring om en af de fem streger for hvert par.

F.eks. hvis du synes at folk fra engelsksprogede lande er meget sjove, sætter du en ring om strengen tættest på ordet sjov, sådan her:

Sjov - - - - kedelige

Hvis du f.eks. synes, at de hverken er sjove eller kedelige, sætter du en ring om den midterste streg:

Sjov - - - - kedelige

Folk fra engelsksprogede lande er:	Folk fra Danmark er:
Uvidende - - - - Kultiverede	Uvidende - - - - Kultiverede
Sjove - - - - Kedelige	Sjove - - - - Kedelige
Hårdt arbejdende - - - - Dovne	Hårdt arbejdende - - - - Dovne
Fattige - - - - Rige	Fattige - - - - Rige
Pålidelige - - - - Upålidelige	Pålidelige - - - - Upålidelige
<b>Hvordan lyder engelsk?</b>	<b>Hvordan synes du dansk lyder?</b>
Hårdt - - - - blødt	Hårdt - - - - blødt
Grimt - - - - flot	Grimt - - - - flot
enkelt - - - - komplekst	enkelt - - - - komplekst

## Spørgsmål om din baggrund.

10)

Mobil nr. (Hvis jeg må kontakte dig i forbindelse med nogle spørgsmål): \_\_\_\_\_

Alder: \_\_\_\_\_

Køn:      dreng ☐      pige ☐

Hvilket land kommer din familie fra? \_\_\_\_\_

Hvilket sprog er dit modersmål? \_\_\_\_\_

Er du født i Danmark?      Ja      Nej  
☐      ☐

**Hvilke sprog taler I hjemme? Hvis I taler flere sprog, så skriv dem op i rækkefølge, så det sprog, der tales mest, nævnes først.**

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**11)**

**Hvor mange søskende har du?** \_\_\_\_\_

**Hvad beskæftiger dine søskende sig med? (sæt krydser alt efter hvor mange søskende du har)**

Går i børnehave	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Går i folkeskole	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Går på gymnasium	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Læser på universitetet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Arbejder (uddyb gerne)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
For tiden ikke i arbejde (uddyb gerne)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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**12)**

**Hvad beskæftiger din far sig med? (sæt et kryds)**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1) Bus-/taxachauffør <input type="checkbox"/>            | 7) Rengøringsmedarbejder <input type="checkbox"/>     |
| 2) Ingeniør <input type="checkbox"/>                     | 8) Advokat/jurist <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| 3) Håndværker/tømrer/elektriker <input type="checkbox"/> | 9) Lærer <input type="checkbox"/>                     |
| 4) Butiksejer/eget firma <input type="checkbox"/>        | 10) Pædagog <input type="checkbox"/>                  |
| 5) Butik-/ restaurantsansat <input type="checkbox"/>     | 11) Hjemmegående <input type="checkbox"/>             |
| 6) Læge/tandlæge <input type="checkbox"/>                | 12) Andet (skriv gerne hvad) <input type="checkbox"/> |

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### Hvilket uddannelsesniveau har din far?

- 1) Folkeskoleniveau ☐
- 2) Gymnasieniveau ☐
- 3) Teknisk skole niveau ☐
- 4) Universitetsniveau ☐
- 5) Anden faglig uddannelse (uddyb gerne) ☐ \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

### Hvad beskæftiger din mor sig med? (sæt et kryds)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1) Bus-/taxachauffør <input type="checkbox"/>            | 7) Rengøringsmedarbejder <input type="checkbox"/>     |
| 2) Ingeniør <input type="checkbox"/>                     | 8) Advokat/jurist <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| 3) Håndværker/tømrer/elektriker <input type="checkbox"/> | 9) Lærer <input type="checkbox"/>                     |
| 4) Butiksejer/eget firma <input type="checkbox"/>        | 10) Pædagog <input type="checkbox"/>                  |
| 5) Butik-/ restaurantsansat <input type="checkbox"/>     | 11) Hjemmegående <input type="checkbox"/>             |
| 6) Læge/tandlæge <input type="checkbox"/>                | 12) Andet (skriv gerne hvad) <input type="checkbox"/> |
- \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

### Hvilket uddannelsesniveau har din mor?

- 1) Folkeskoleniveau ☐
- 2) Gymnasieniveau ☐
- 3) Teknisk skole niveau ☐
- 4) Universitetsniveau ☐
- 5) Anden faglig uddannelse (uddyb gerne) ☐ \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

13)

### Bor du (og familien) i

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Lejelejlighed <input type="checkbox"/>   | Ejerlejlighed <input type="checkbox"/>  |
| Lejet rækkehus <input type="checkbox"/>  | Eget rækkehus <input type="checkbox"/>  |
| Lejet hus/villa <input type="checkbox"/> | Eget hus/villa <input type="checkbox"/> |

TUSIND TAK FOR HJÆLPEN!

## APPENDIX B) Questionnaire – Plurilingual version

Navn: \_\_\_\_\_

Skole: \_\_\_\_\_ klasse: \_\_\_\_\_

### Spørgsmål om dine kompetencer og holdninger til sprog

#### 1) Hvor meget engelsk hører, skriver og taler du i fritiden?

	Så ofte jeg kan	Ret ofte	En gang imellem	Sjældent	Aldrig
a) Ser du engelske tv programmer?					
a) Hører du engelsk musik?					
b) Skriver du engelsk med nogen, f.eks på Facebook eller SMS?					
b) Taler du engelsk med venner, familie eller bekendte?					

#### 2) I hvilket omfang læser du engelsk i fritiden?

	Så ofte jeg kan	Ret ofte	En gang imellem	Sjældent	Aldrig
<i>Romaner:</i>					
<i>Faglitteratur:</i>					
<i>Artikler på nettet:</i>					
<i>Andet (uddyb):</i>					

**3) I hvilket omfang skriver du på engelsk i fritiden:**

	Så ofte jeg kan	Ret ofte	En gang imellem	Sjældent	Aldrig
<i>Breve:</i>					
<i>E-mails/Facebook beskeder:</i>					
<i>Dagbog:</i>					
<i>Andet (uddyb):</i>					

**4)**

<b>Tag stilling til hvert udsagn og sæt kryds ved det svar, der passer bedst til dig</b>	Helt Enig	Delvist enig	Neutral	Uenig	Helt uenig
1. Jeg kan godt lide at høre engelsk					
2. Jeg kan godt lide at se engelsk tv					
3. Engelsk bør være obligatorisk i alle skoler					
4. Det er tidsspilde at læse meget engelsk					
5. Jeg kan godt lide at tale engelsk					
6. Engelsk er svært at lære					
7. Jeg kunne godt tænke mig bruge mit engelsk efter at jeg er færdiguddannet (i et fremtidigt job)					
8. Jeg ville ønske man talte engelsk ligeså meget som dansk her i landet					
9. Jeg kan godt lide at blive undervist i engelsk					
10. Hvis jeg får børn, håber jeg de bliver gode til engelsk					

**5) Har du opholdt dig i et engelsktalende land i længere tid (mere end 2 uger)?**

Hvor mange gange? \_\_\_\_\_

Hvor længe ? \_\_\_\_\_

I hvilken sammenhæng? \_\_\_\_\_

**6) Hvad ligger dit karaktergennemsnit på:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Dine karakterer i engelsk:**

Din sidste stil: \_\_\_\_\_

Din seneste standpunktskarakter: Mundtlig: \_\_\_\_\_ Skriftlig: \_\_\_\_\_

**7) Hvor ofte hører, skriver og taler du dit modersmål?**

	Så ofte jeg kan	Ret ofte	Engang imellem	Sjældent	Aldrig
<b>a)</b> Ser du tv programmer på dit modersmål?					
<b>a)</b> Hører du musik på dit modersmål?					
<b>b)</b> Skriver du sammen med nogen, f.eks på Facebook eller SMS på dit modersmål?					
<b>b)</b> Taler du med venner, familie eller bekendte på dit modersmål?					

**8) Sæt kryds ved den af de tre svarmuligheder, der passer bedst til dig:**

- 1) Jeg kan forstå mit modersmål, men kan ikke læse det ☐
- 2) Jeg kan både læse, forstå og skrive på mit modersmål, men jeg plejer aldrig at skrive på mit modersmål ☐
- 3) Jeg kan både læse, forstå og skrive på mit modersmål, og plejer også at skrive på mit modersmål ☐

9)

Hvor gammel var du, da du lærte at tale på dit modersmål? \_\_\_\_\_

Hvor gammel var du, da du lærte at læse og skrive på dit modersmål? \_\_\_\_\_

Hvor gammel var du, da du lærte at tale dansk? \_\_\_\_\_

10)

a) Hvor tit taler I dit modersmål hjemme hos dig? (sæt et kryds)

Hele tiden	halvdelen af tiden	nogle gange	meget sjældent	aldrig
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

b) Hvor tit taler I dansk hjemme hos dig? (sæt et kryds)

Hele tiden	halvdelen af tiden	nogle gange	meget sjældent	aldrig
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

c) Taler I andet end dit modersmål og dansk? Skriv hvilket: \_\_\_\_\_ (og sæt kryds)

Hele tiden	halvdelen af tiden	nogle gange	meget sjældent	aldrig
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11) Besvar spørgsmålene med tallene 1 til 10, hvor 1 betyder meget dårlig, og 10 betyder meget god.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.Hvor god vil du mene du er til at tale dit modersmål?										
2.Hvor god vil du mene du er til at tale dansk?										
3.Hvor god vil du mene du er til at tale engelsk?										

**12) I hvilket omfang læser du på dit modersmål:**

	Så ofte jeg kan	Ret ofte	En gang imellem	Sjældent	Aldrig
<i>Romaner:</i>					
<i>Faglitteratur:</i>					
<i>Artikler på nettet:</i>					
<i>Andet (uddyb):</i>					

**13) I hvilket omfang skriver du på dit modersmål:**

	Så ofte jeg kan	Ret ofte	En gang imellem	Sjældent	Aldrig
<i>Breve</i>					
<i>E-mails</i>					
<i>Dagbog:</i>					
<i>Andet (uddyb):</i>					

**14) Har du modtaget undervisning i dit modersmål? Ja      Nej**

☐
☐

Hvis ja, hvor gammel var du da du startede? \_\_\_\_\_

Hvis ja, hvor længe gik du til det? \_\_\_\_\_



**15) I hvilket omfang læser du DANSK i fritiden:**

	Så ofte jeg kan	Ret ofte	En gang imellem	Sjældent	Aldrig
Avis					
<i>Romaner:</i>					
<i>Faglitteratur:</i>					
<i>Artikler på nettet:</i>					
<i>Andet (uddyb):</i>					

**16) I hvilket omfang skriver du på DANSK i fritiden**

	Så ofte jeg kan	Ret ofte	En gang imellem	Sjældent	Aldrig
<i>Til skolebladet:</i>					
<i>Breve</i>					
<i>E-mails</i>					
<i>Dagbog:</i>					
<i>Andet (uddyb):</i>					

17) Hvad er din mening om mennesker fra følgende lande, samt deres sprog – sæt en ring om en af de fem streger for hvert par.

F.eks. hvis du synes at folk fra engelsksprogede lande er meget sjove, sætter du en ring om strengen tættest på ordet sjov, sådan her:

Sjov - - - - - kedelige

Hvis du f.eks. synes, at de hverken er sjove eller kedelige, sætter du en ring om den midterste streg:

Sjov - - - - - kedelige

Folk fra engelsksprogede lande er:			Folk fra Danmark er:		
Uvidende	- - - - -	Kultiverede	Uvidende	- - - - -	Kultiverede
Sjove	- - - - -	Kedelige	Sjove	- - - - -	Kedelige
Hårdt arbejdende	- - - - -	Dovne	Hårdt arbejdende	- - - - -	Dovne
Fattige	- - - - -	Rige	Fattige	- - - - -	Rige
Pålidelige	- - - - -	Upålidelige	Pålidelige	- - - - -	Upålidelige
<b>Hvordan lyder engelsk?</b>			<b>Hvordan synes du dansk lyder?</b>		
Hårdt	- - - - -	blødt	Hårdt	- - - - -	blødt
Grimt	- - - - -	flot	Grimt	- - - - -	flot
enkelt	- - - - -	komplekst	enkelt	- - - - -	komplekst

Folk fra din families land er:		
Uvidende	- - - - -	Kultiverede
Sjove	- - - - -	Kedelige
Hårdt arbejdende	- - - - -	Dovne
Fattige	- - - - -	Rige
Pålidelige	- - - - -	Upålidelige
<b>Hvordan synes du dit modersmål lyder?</b>		
Hårdt	- - - - -	blødt
Grimt	- - - - -	flot
enkelt	- - - - -	komplekst

## Spørgsmål om din baggrund.

18)

Mobil nr. (Hvis jeg må kontakte dig i forbindelse med nogle spørgsmål): \_\_\_\_\_

Alder: \_\_\_\_\_

Køn:      dreng ☐      pige ☐

Hvilket land kommer din familie fra? \_\_\_\_\_

Hvilket sprog er dit modersmål? \_\_\_\_\_

Er du født i Danmark?      Ja      Nej  
                                 ☐      ☐

Hvis nej, hvor længe har du så boet i Danmark? \_\_\_\_\_

19)

Hvor mange søskende har du? \_\_\_\_\_

Hvad beskæftiger dine søskende sig med? (sæt krydser alt efter hvor mange søskende du har)

Går i børnehave	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Går i folkeskole	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Går på gymnasium	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Læser på universitetet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Arbejder (uddyb gerne)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
For tiden ikke i arbejde (uddyb gerne)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

20)

Hvad beskæftiger din far sig med? (sæt et kryds)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1) Bus-/taxachauffør <input type="checkbox"/>            | 7) Rengøringsmedarbejder <input type="checkbox"/>     |
| 2) Ingeniør <input type="checkbox"/>                     | 8) Advokat/jurist <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| 3) Håndværker/tømrer/elektriker <input type="checkbox"/> | 9) Lærer <input type="checkbox"/>                     |
| 4) Butiksejer/eget firma <input type="checkbox"/>        | 10) Pædagog <input type="checkbox"/>                  |
| 5) Butik-/ restaurantsansat <input type="checkbox"/>     | 11) Hjemmegående <input type="checkbox"/>             |
| 6) Læge/tandlæge <input type="checkbox"/>                | 12) Andet (skriv gerne hvad) <input type="checkbox"/> |

\_\_\_\_\_

### Hvilket uddannelsesniveau har din far?

- 6) Folkeskoleniveau ☐  
7) Gymnasieniveau ☐  
8) Teknisk skole niveau ☐  
9) Universitetsniveau ☐  
10) Anden faglig uddannelse (uddyb gerne) ☐ \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

### Hvad beskæftiger din mor sig med? (sæt et kryds)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1) Bus-/taxachauffør <input type="checkbox"/>            | 7) Rengøringsmedarbejder <input type="checkbox"/>     |
| 2) Ingeniør <input type="checkbox"/>                     | 8) Advokat/jurist <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| 3) Håndværker/tømrer/elektriker <input type="checkbox"/> | 9) Lærer <input type="checkbox"/>                     |
| 4) Butiksejer/eget firma <input type="checkbox"/>        | 10) Pædagog <input type="checkbox"/>                  |
| 5) Butik-/restaurantsansat <input type="checkbox"/>      | 11) Hjemmegående <input type="checkbox"/>             |
| 6) Læge/tandlæge <input type="checkbox"/>                | 12) Andet (skriv gerne hvad) <input type="checkbox"/> |
- \_\_\_\_\_

### Hvilken uddannelse har din mor?

- 1) Folkeskoleniveau ☐  
2) Gymnasieniveau ☐  
3) Teknisk skole niveau ☐  
4) Universitetsniveau ☐  
5) Anden faglig uddannelse (uddyb gerne) ☐ \_\_\_\_\_

21)

### Bor du (og familien) i

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Lejelejlighed <input type="checkbox"/>   | Ejerlejlighed <input type="checkbox"/>  |
| Lejet rækkehus <input type="checkbox"/>  | Eget rækkehus <input type="checkbox"/>  |
| Lejet hus/villa <input type="checkbox"/> | Eget hus/villa <input type="checkbox"/> |

TUSIND TAK FOR HJÆLPEN!

## APPENDIX C) – INTERVIEW Guide (Danish)

1. For at starte fra en ende af, hvordan har det været at sidde med testene?
2. Hvad synes du om engelsk, sådan helt generelt?
3. Hvad synes dine forældre om engelsk?
4. Hvad med dine søskende? Og hvilke kanaler ser dine forældre fortrinsvis?
5. Har dine forældre en negativ eller positiv holdning til amerikanere eller englændere eller til U.S.A og England?
6. Hvordan har du det så med at læse på engelsk? Synes du det er svært?
7. Læser du engelske tekster, ud over skolearbejde?
8. Når du læser en tekst på engelsk, hvordan griber du det så an?
9. Hvordan har du det så med at skrive på engelsk? Er det svært?
10. Når du skriver på engelsk, hvordan griber du det så an – planlægger du inden, undervejs eller skriver du bare løs?
11. Bliver du inspireret undervejs, til hvad du skal skrive, eller har du planlagt det meste inden da?
12. Ændrer du på noget af det du har skrevet til slut?
13. Hvad synes du om dansk?
14. Læser du så på dansk?
15. Hvordan har du det så med at skrive på dansk?
16. Griber du en dansk og en engelsk opgave an på samme måde? Dvs. gør du det samme før og under skriveprocessen?
17. Fortrækker du at snakke dansk eller dit modersmål med dine venner, som har samme modersmål som dig?
18. Føler du, det er en fordel eller en ulempe at være flersproget, når du lærer et nyt sprog i forhold til etsyrogede?
19. Er du så mere glad for de sproglige eller matematiske fag i skolen?
20. Kan du godt lide at tale tyrkisk?
21. Har du som barn nogensinde oplevet, at det var pinligt at snakke dit modersmål et offentligt sted?
22. Hvad kunne du godt tænke dig at læse til?
23. Forsøger dine forældre at opmuntre dig til at studere hårdt, eller i en bestemt retning eller er det noget du selv styrer?
24. **Translanguaging**
  - a. Hvilke sprog tænker du på?
  - b. Tænker du nogensinde på tyrkisk i engelskundervisningen?
  - c. Har du oplevet i sprogundervisning at du kunne udnytte dit tyrkiske?

## **Interview guide (Danish) Own translation into English:**

Hi

1. To start from an end, how did you find the test?
2. What do you think of English in general?
3. What do your parents think about English?
4. What about your siblings? And what channels do your parents watch?
5. Do your parents have a negative or positive attitude towards Americans or Englishmen or towards the United States and England?
6. How do you feel about reading in English? Do you find it difficult?
7. Do you read English texts in addition to schoolwork?
8. When you read a text in English, how do you approach it?
9. How do you feel about writing in English? Do you find it difficult?
10. When writing in English, how do you approach it? Do you plan beforehand, or during your writing or are you just writing (without planning)?
11. Do you get inspired while writing or do you just stick to you plan (If you have made one)?
12. Do you change any of that you have written in the end?
13. What do you think of Danish?
14. Do you read in Danish?
15. How do you feel about writing in Danish?
16. Do you approach a Danish and an English assignment in the same way? I.e. Do you do the same before and during the writing process?
17. Do you prefer to speak Danish or your mother tongue with your friends who have the same mother tongue as you?
18. Do you feel it's an advantage or a disadvantage to be multilingual when learning a new language compared to monolinguals?
19. Do you prefer language subjects or science in school?
20. Do you like to speak Turkish?
21. Have you as a child ever experienced it was embarrassing to speak Turkish in a public place?

22. What would you like to study to become?

23. Does your parents encourage you to study hard, or in a certain direction or is it something you control?

**24. Translanguaging**

a. What language(s) do you “think”?

b. Do you ever “think” Turkish in English class?

c. Have you experienced you were able to use your Turkish in language learning class?

## Appendix D) INTERVIEW Guide (Turkish) and own translations into English

1. **Merhaba, Nasilisin?** Hi, how are you?
2. **Şimdi senin hakkında birşeyler duymak istiyorum.** Now I want to hear a bit about you.
3. **Adın ne? ve kaç yaşındasın?** What is your name and how old are you?
4. **Boş zamanında ne yapmayı seviyorsun?** What do you like to do in your spare time?
5. **Hangi spor alanlarını seviyorsun?** What kind of sports do you like?
6. **En sevdiğin yemek nedir?** What is your favourite food?
7. **En sevdiğin film nedir?** What is your favourite movie?
8. **Filmin ne hakkında olduğunu bana anlatabilir misin?** Can you tell me what the movie is about?
9. **İngilizce hakkında ne düşündüğünü bana söyleyebilir misin?** Can you tell me how you feel about English?
10. **Yaz tatilinde ne yaptın?** What did you do in your summer holidays?
11. **Nereye tatille gitmek istersin? ve neden?** Where would you like to travel? And why?
12. **Bu hafta sonu ne yaptın?** What have you been doing last weekend?
13. **İlerde ne okumak istersin?** What do you like to study to become?



## **Appendix E)**

### **Short reading comprehension - The blurb of the Novel *The Great Gatsby***

**(F. Scoot Fitzgerald, 2000, Penguin Classics)**

In *The Great Gatsby*, Fitzgerald brilliantly captures both the disillusion of post-war America and the moral failure of a society obsessed with wealth and status. But he does more than render the essence of a particular time and place, for in chronicling Gatsby's tragic pursuit of his dream, Fitzgerald re-creates the universal conflict between illusion and reality.

## Appendix F) - Consent form

Kære forældre til elev i 9.klasse.

Sep. 2015

Mit navn er Rawand Jalal, og jeg er ph.d.-studerende ved Københavns Universitet og Professionshøjskolen, UCC.

Jeg er i gang med et projekt, hvor jeg undersøger 9. klasse-elevs engelskkompetencer ved brug af læse- og ordforrådtest. Derudover får eleverne tildelt et spørgeskema, der bl.a. indeholder spørgsmål om deres kontakt til engelsk, dansk og deres modersmål (hvis det er et andet end dansk). Skemaerne indeholder desuden baggrundsspørgsmål, samt spørgsmål om deres engelsk- og gennemsnitskarakter, for at se om der er sammenhænge imellem deres testresultater og karakterer. Derudover vil nogle elever blive udvalgt på baggrund af deres testresultater og modersmål til den anden del af undersøgelsen, der går ud på, at eleverne bliver observeret i engelskundervisningen. De bliver desuden interviewet om deres sprogbrug og lignende, samt testet i deres dansk og modersmålskompetencer og engelsk læsefærdigheder/læseforståelse.

Informationerne bliver udelukkende brugt til projektet, og alle elever forbliver **anonyme**.

Hvis I har indvendinger mod jeres barns deltagelse, skal I give jeres barn en note med, med besked om jeres ønske om, at de ikke deltager.

På forhånd mange tak.

Mvh.

**Rawand Jalal, Ph.d.-studerende ved Københavns Universitet & UCC, Professionshøjskolen.**

E-mail adresse: [vgn142@hum.ku.dk](mailto:vgn142@hum.ku.dk) eller Rawand.jalal@gmail.com

## **Appendix G – Information letter to the teachers**

**Kære engelsklærer i 9. klasse, tak, fordi du gider tage dig tid til at læse om mit ph.d.-projekt.**

Jeg er ph.d.-studerende ved Københavns Universitet og Professionshøjskolen, UCC. I mit projekt undersøger jeg engelskkompetencerne hos flersprogede elever sammenlignet med etsprogede elever i 9. klasse, da PISA-undersøgelser viser, at flersprogede elever ikke klarer sig særlig godt i uddannelsessystemet, herunder især i engelsk. Jeg vil derfor indlede med at undersøge alle elever i den pågældende classes engelskkompetencer. Herefter vil jeg udvælge nogle elever på baggrund af deres testscore og jeg vil jeg undersøge hvilke læringsstrategier, de benytter sig af i engelskundervisningen.

Alt dette er naturligvis for at undersøge hvorledes vi kan effektivere de flersprogedes engelskkompetencer, og udnytte dem som en resurse i samfundet i stedet for en byrde.

I den forbindelse har jeg brug for at indsamle data fra minimum 120 9. classes elever, både et- og flersprogede.

Disse deltagere vil blive testet i deres generelle engelskkundskaber ved brug af DIALANG, der indeholder test af læse- og ordforråd. For at undgå tekniske problemer, vil eleverne få prøverne i papir-format.

Desuden vil deltagerne blive bedt om at udfylde et spørgeskema, som blandt andet måler deres kontakt med engelsk, samt deres første- og andetsprog. Spørgeskemaerne indeholder også demografiske spørgsmål (fx alder, køn og socioøkonomisk status).

Alt dette vil tage ca. 1,5 time - jeg leverer i øvrigt gerne feedback om elevernes testresultater til jer, lærere, hvis det ønskes, men derudover forbliver eleverne anonyme.

Dernæst vil tolv flersprogede elever udvælges på baggrund af deres testresultater til den kvalitative del af undersøgelsen.

Disse elevers samlede sprogbeherskelse vil blive undersøgt nærmere, for at man kan undersøge sammenhængen mellem gode færdigheder i deres tredjesprog (engelsk) og henholdsvis deres første- og andetsprog; elevernes førstesprogs (tyrkisk) og andetsprogs (dansk) -kompetencer vil blive testet receptivt via ordforråd- og læsetest.

Disse elevers adfærd i engelskundervisningen vil blive observeret på nært hold; her vil jeg over en længere periode deltage i undervisningen for at se, hvad eleverne gør, når de løser problemer.

Udover at observere eleverne i undervisningen, vil disse elever også blive interviewet, alt sammen for at kaste lys over, hvorfor de ligger hvor de gør i forhold til engelskkompetencer. Der er altså udelukkende fokus på elevernes adfærd i undervisningen samt deres læringsstrategier og ikke på hverken læreren eller på selve undervisningen.

Så vær med til at støtte op omkring en forskning, der er strengt nødvendig, ved at jeg må komme ind i din 9. klasse. Hvis jeg må komme ind i din klasse, skal du kontakte mig på nedenstående mobil nr. eller mail.

På forhånd mange tak for hjælpen

Med venlig hilsen

**Rawand Jalal,**

**Ph.d.-studerende Københavns Universitet og Professionshøjskolen UCC.**

**E-mail: [vgn142@hum.ku.dk](mailto:vgn142@hum.ku.dk) eller [Rawand.jalal@gmail.com](mailto:Rawand.jalal@gmail.com)**

**Mobil: 27 85 82 59**

## Appendix H Section 1 - extracts from transcriptions of interviews in Danish

An example of a student who was a bit brief in his answers

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
Interviewer	Hvordan var det at sidde med engelsktesten?
Ayub	Synes den var lidt svær i starten, men ellers var det fint, men lidt svær.
Interviewer	Hvad synes du om engelsk generelt?
Ayub	Jeg synes det et flot sprog. Jeg kan godt lide at tale det.
Interviewer	Ja?
Ayub	Det er et nemt sprog.
Interviewer	Ja? Kan du godt lide at se engelsk tv og læse på engelsk?
Ayub	Ja. Jeg ser for det meste engelsk og hører for det meste engelsk musik?
Interviewer	Okay. Foretrækker du at se engelsk tv og høre engelsk musik frem for dansk og tyrkisk derhjemme?
Ayub	Nej, det gør jeg ikke.
Interviewer	Ok. Hvad foretrækker du?
Ayub	Derhjemme taler vi mest tyrkisk og dansk.
Interviewer	Tyrkisk og dansk?
Ayub	Ja.
Interviewer	Hvad synes dine forældre om engelsk, ved du det? Kan de lide det eller...?
Ayub	Ja, jeg ved det ikke helt. Det er fint nok.
Interviewer	Hvad med dine søskende? Ve du om de kan lide engelsk?
Ayub	Min bror har det fint med engelsk.
Interviewer	Okay. Hvilke kanaler ser I derhjemme?
Ayub	Jeg ser for det meste MTV og TLC, men jeg ser også nogle gange danske kanaler.
Interviewer	Hvad med da du var yngre, kan du huske, hvilke kanaler dine forældre så mest?
Ayub	For det meste tyrkiske.
Interviewer	Tyrkiske? Så det er du opvokset med? Og det er måske derfor, du også kan tyrkisk sådan ret godt?
Ayub	Ja.
Interviewer	Ok. Ved du om dine forældre har en enten positiv holdning til amerikanere og englændere.
Ayub	Nej. For det meste de hører om er Amerikas politik
Interviewer	Og de forholder sig neutrale? Ikke hverken positive eller negative?
Ayub	Ja.
Interviewer	Så skal jeg lige høre dig, hvordan du har det med at læse på engelsk?
Ayub	Jeg synes ikke det er særligt svært.
Interviewer	Læser du tekster på engelsk, udover lektier?
Ayub	Nogle gange læser jeg artikler på Facebook på engelsk
Interviewer	Ja? Og når du så har en tekst foran dig, enten i skolesammenhænge eller i fritiden, hvordan griber du den så an?
Ayub	Begynder med at læse den og hvis jeg så ikke forstår noget af det, så prøver jeg at læse det igen.

**An example of a student who provided long and elaborate answers.**

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvordan var det at sidde med engelsktesten?
<b>Furkan</b>	Jeg synes den var fin nok. Altså det var ikke fordi den var overdrevet svær. Nogle gange kunne det godt forvirre mig lidt, hvor jeg så tænkte, er det virkelig det rigtige svar det her – er det det her. Eller er det bare rent gæt. Så det meste var mit eget svar, hvor jeg tænkte ”okay, det her føles rigtigt” Ellers var der et par stykker hvor jeg tænkte ”okay. Jeg gætter bare på det her, fordi det virker mest rigtigt for mig.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad synes du om engelsk generelt?
<b>Furkan</b>	Jeg synes det er et rigtig fedt sprog. Fordi som jeg husker, så kan alle mennesker engelsk. Enten forstår de det, ellers kan de både forstå og tale det. Derfor har det altid interesseret mig. Derfor vil jeg også blive bedre.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ved du hvad sine forældre synes om engelsk?
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja. Min mor er meget integreret i forhold til min far, fordi min far har haft en hård barndom. Altså min far han synes ikke helt om engelsk, han er i hvert fald ikke så god til det. Min mor er vild med det også, ligesom mig.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så din mor motiverer dig måske lidt til at blive bedre til engelsk?
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvordan har dine søskende det med engelsk?
<b>Furkan</b>	Altså så vidt jeg husker, så er min bror ikke så god til engelsk. Han er ikke selv vild med det.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvor gammel var det han var?
<b>Furkan</b>	Han er 16 år.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og han går i gymnasiet kan jeg se, du har skrevet? Men han er så ikke så glad for engelsk?
<b>Furkan</b>	Han er ikke så vild med det, fordi han ved selv, han ikke er så god til det. Jeg har altid været den, der har lært de sprog, som ikke er vores modersmål. Det har jeg hele tiden været god til, f.eks. fransk og dansk og engelsk og sådan noget. Men min bror har altid været god til tyrkisk og kurdisk. Hvor det ikke har været min bedste side.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvilke kanaler I har set derhjemme under din opvækst. Har det f.eks. været tyrkiske kanaler?
<b>Furkan</b>	Jeg så meget tegnefilm. Både dansk talende og engelsktalende. Så var der rigtig få tyrkisktalende, jeg brød mig ikke om det. Ellers har det for det meste været dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så når du har haft muligheden for at bestemme, har du set danske og engelske tegnefilm. Men når det så har været dine forældre, der har bestemt hvad I skulle se – hvad har det så været?
<b>Furkan</b>	Så har det mest været tyrkiske serier. Hvor det nærmest bare har været det samme drama, som gentager sig i flere år, hver mandag.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så har været tyrkiske serier – og ikke noget på kurdisk?
<b>Furkan</b>	Nej, eller nogle gange har min far set lidt kurdisk for sig selv. Men når de har været sammen har de set tyrkiske serier.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Kan begge dine forældre både tyrkisk og kurdisk?
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja, altså de kan begge kurdisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Men de har så talt tyrkisk til jer?

	Ja. Min far har talt lidt kurdisk engang imellem, men ellers har de talt tyrkisk. Min mors far har talt mest tyrkisk, fordi hendes mor har tyrkisk baggrund og hendes far har kurdisk, så hun har talt mest tyrkisk til mig.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvilket sprog ville du tale derhjemme nu - f.eks. når du går hjem?
<b>Furkan</b>	Nu? Der ville jeg nok tale dansk, fordi det er jeg bedst til.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og hvilket sprog vil dine forældre så svare på?
<b>Furkan</b>	På tyrkisk og dansk
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så dine forældre har talt meget dansk til jer siden i var små?
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja, altså både tyrkisk og dansk, men de vil også gerne have at jeg øhh..altså jeg bor i Danmark, har dansk pas, hvor jeg har svært ved..øhh..det her er mit levested, det er her jeg skal være. Så de vil gerne have, at jeg skulle føle mig tilpas her og at jeg skulle kunne sproget her. Derfor har de også snakket dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Nu vil jeg lige høre lidt omkring dine forældres holdning til amerikanere og englændere samt til USA og andre engelsk talende lande. Ved du om de har haft en negativ eller positiv holdning?
<b>Furkan</b>	Min far er meget kritisk over det [griner].
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er det så omkring amerikanere og deres politik, eller?
	Ja. Altså min far har hele tiden haft det sådan, hvis du spørger ham, siger han "Amerikanere er dumme, og de er arhh...de gør ikke det rigtige". Hvor min mor siger "de er meget søde, og de kan det ene og det andet". Der er helt sikkert stor forskel.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Men har det påvirket dig og din holdning på nogen måder?
<b>Furkan</b>	Nej, fordi min far har altid sagt, at det er lige meget hvad de siger og hvad for nogle holdninger de har [forældrene], så skal jeg lytte til mig selv. Fordi det er det vigtigste.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Nu vil jeg lige spørge ind til din læsning. Hvordan har du det med at læse på engelsk? Synes du det er svært?
<b>Furkan</b>	Nej. Men jeg synes, der er nogle ord, der ligesom irriterer min tunge lidt. Jeg kan ikke helt udtale dem. Og når jeg så gentager det, så sidder det bare på plads. Ellers er det fint. Det er ikke fordi det er svært at forstå.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Læser du engelske tekster, ud over skolearbejde?
<b>Furkan</b>	Ikke generelt bøger, men nogle gange læser jeg sider og sådan noget..internet sider. Og når jeg spiller, ja så det mest på engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Furkan</b>	Og nogle gange, hvor der er historier, både hvor de taler engelsk i videoen og der er tekster, så læser jeg de engelske undertekster.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og når du så læser en tekst. Lad os sige, du har noget skolearbejde. Hvordan vil du så gribe teksten an? Vil du læse den langsomt og grundigt fra start? Vil du f.eks. bruge ordbog? Eller hvordan vil du gøre?

## Section 2 – transcription of interview with Furkan (case study 1 – intermediate level)

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvordan var det at sidde med engelsktesten?
<b>Furkan</b>	Jeg synes den var fin nok. Altså det var ikke fordi den var overdrevet svær. Nogle gange kunne det godt forvirre mig lidt, hvor jeg så tænkte, er det virkelig det rigtige svar det her – er det det her. Eller er det bare rent gæt. Så det meste var mit eget svar hvor jeg tænkte ”okay, det her føles rigtigt” Ellers var der et par stykker hvor jeg tænkte ”okay. Jeg gætter bare på det her, fordi det virker mest rigtigt for mig.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad synes du om engelsk generelt?
<b>Furkan</b>	Jeg synes det er et rigtig fedt sprog. Fordi som jeg husker, så kan alle mennesker engelsk. Enten forstår de det, ellers kan de både forstå og tale det. Derfor har det altid interesseret mig. Derfor vil jeg også blive bedre.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ved du hvad sine forældre synes om engelsk?
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja. Min mor er meget integreret i forhold til min far, fordi min far har haft en hård barndom. Altså min far han synes ikke helt om engelsk, han er i hvert fald ikke så god til det. Min mor er vild med det også, ligesom mig.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så din mor motiverer dig måske lidt til at blive bedre til engelsk?
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvordan har dine søskende det med engelsk?
<b>Furkan</b>	Altså så vidt jeg husker, så er min bror ikke så god til engelsk. Han er ikke selv vild med det.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvor gammel var det han var?
<b>Furkan</b>	Han er 16 år.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og han går i gymnasiet kan jeg se, du har skrevet? Men han er så ikke så glad for engelsk?
<b>Furkan</b>	Han er ikke så vild med det, fordi han ved selv, han ikke er så god til det. Jeg har altid været den, der har lært de sprog, som ikke er vores modersmål. Det har jeg hele tiden været god til, f.eks. fransk og dansk og engelsk og sådan noget. Men min bror har altid været god til tyrkisk og kurdisk. Hvor det ikke har været min bedste side.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvilke kanaler I har set derhjemme under din opvækst. Har det f.eks. været tyrkiske kanaler?
<b>Furkan</b>	Jeg så meget tegnefilm. Både dansk talende og engelsktalende. Så var der rigtig få tyrkisktalende, jeg brød mig ikke om det. Ellers har det for det meste været dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så når du har haft muligheden for at bestemme, har du set danske og engelske tegnefilm. Men når det så har været dine forældre, der har bestemt hvad I skulle se – hvad har det så været?
<b>Furkan</b>	Så har det mest været tyrkiske serier. Hvor det nærmest bare har været det samme drama, som gentager sig i flere år, hver mandag.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så har været tyrkiske serier – og ikke noget på kurdisk?
<b>Furkan</b>	Nej, eller nogle gange har min far set lidt kurdisk for sig selv. Men når de har været sammen har de set tyrkiske serier.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Kan begge dine forældre både tyrkisk og kurdisk?

<b>Furkan</b>	Ja, altså de kan begge kurdisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Men de har så talt tyrkisk til jer?
	Ja. Min far har talt lidt kurdisk engang imellem, men ellers har de talt tyrkisk. Min mors far har talt mest tyrkisk fordi hendes mor har tyrkisk baggrund og hendes far har kurdisk, så hun har talt mest tyrkisk til mig.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvilket sprog ville du tale derhjemme nu – f.eks. når du går hjem?
<b>Furkan</b>	Nu? Der ville jeg nok tale dansk, fordi det er jeg bedst til.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og hvilket sprog vil dine forældre så svare på?
<b>Furkan</b>	På tyrkisk og dansk
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så dine forældre har talt meget dansk til jer siden i var små?
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja, altså både tyrkisk og dansk, men de vil også gerne have at jeg øhh..altså jeg bor i Danmark, har dansk pas, hvor jeg har svært ved..øhh..det her er mit levested, det er her jeg skal være. Så de vil gerne have, at jeg skulle føle mig tilpas her og at jeg skulle kunne sproget her. Derfor har de også snakket dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Nu vil jeg lige høre lidt omkring dine forældres holdning til amerikanere og englændere samt til USA og andre engelsk talende lande. Ved du om de har haft en negativ eller positiv holdning?
<b>Furkan</b>	Min far er meget kritisk over det [griner].
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er det så omkring amerikanere og deres politik, eller?
	Ja. Altså min far har hele tiden haft det sådan, hvis du spørger ham, siger han ”Amerikanere er dumme, og de er arhh...de gør ikke det rigtige”. Hvor min mor siger ”de er meget søde, og de kan det ene og det andet”. Der er helt sikkert stor forskel.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Men har det påvirket dig og din holdning på nogen måder?
<b>Furkan</b>	Nej, fordi min far har altid sagt, at det er lige meget hvad de siger og hvad for nogle holdninger de har [forældrene], så skal jeg lytte til mig selv. Fordi det er det vigtigste.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Nu vil jeg lige spørge ind til din læsning. Hvordan har du det med at læse på engelsk? Synes du det er svært?
<b>Furkan</b>	Nej. Men jeg synes, der er nogle ord, der ligesom irriterer min tunge lidt. Jeg kan ikke helt udtale dem. Og når jeg så gentager det, så sidder det bare på plads. Ellers er det fint. Det er ikke fordi det er svært at forstå.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Læser du engelske tekster, ud over skolearbejde?
<b>Furkan</b>	Ikke generelt bøger, men nogle gange læser jeg internet sider og sådan noget. Og når jeg spiller, ja så det mest på engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
	Og nogle gange, hvor der er historier, både hvor de taler engelsk i videoen og der er tekster, så læser jeg de engelske undertekster.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og når du så læser en tekst. Lad os sige du har noget skolearbejde. Hvordan vil du så gribe teksten an? Vil du læse den langsomt og grundigt fra start? Vil du f.eks. bruge ordbog? Eller hvordan vil du gøre?
<b>Furkan</b>	Det kommer an på... jeg bruger ikke ordbog, fordi for det meste forstår jeg det. Der hvor jeg ikke forstår det, finder jeg sammenhæng i hele sætningen, så ved jeg hvad det betyder. Ellers er det sådan, at hvis jeg føler, det er for nemt, så læser jeg bare hurtigt fordi så har jeg allerede fat i hvad der kommer til at ske og sådan noget. Men hvis det er sådan en svær tekst, så går jeg måske mere i



	dybden og tænker ”okay jeg holder lige fast i det her” og så prøver jeg at læse videre og så kommer jeg tilbage derefter.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad så når du skal skrive på engelsk? Synes du, det er svært at skrive på engelsk?
<b>Furkan</b>	Hmmm..nej jeg synes det er det samme som dansk næsten. Det sidder bare nærmest fordi...det er en del af min hverdag og jeg har set ordene og jeg har læst ordene så jeg ved hvordan det skal stå.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Og hvis du skal skrive en opgave på engelsk, hvordan vil du så gribe det an? Planlægger du f.eks. inden du skriver eller planlægger du undervejs, eller skriver du bare løs?
<b>Furkan</b>	Det er faktisk meget...ehmmm det typiske jeg gør er, at jeg plejer at tænke lidt over det og så kigger jeg lidt på opgaven, og så finder jeg måske lige en brainstorm frem. Men hvis jeg er sammen med vennerne, så går det meget stærkt for så giver vi hinanden ideer undervejs. Og ja, så siger vi..du kan skrive sådan her og sådan her. Og så går det stærkt. Ellers når jeg er alene, så giver jeg lige mig selv en brainstorm, og tænker lidt over hvad jeg skal skrive inden jeg går i gang.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, og så tænker du også over lidt over det undervejs?
<b>Furkan</b>	Jahh.. undervejs...fordi jeg typisk..når jeg først har fundet et emne, så kører det bare for mig. Så er det ikke fordi, jeg skal tænke så meget mere over det. Så ved jeg hvordan jeg skal dele det op til sidst. Så kører det bare for mig.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så du har planlagt det meste inden, og bliver ikke inspireret undervejs?
<b>Furkan</b>	Nej, jeg bliver ikke inspireret, fordi jeg føler ofte, at jeg ikke kan komme på noget der er bedre end dét. Det er noget jeg selv digter i mit hoved.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Når du så har skrevet opgave, ændre du så noget til sidst?
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja, typisk..sååå...når det går alt for stærkt, når jeg ikke at læse hvad jeg selv skriver. Så kan det godt virke dumt, det jeg selv skriver. Så kigger jeg på teksten og retter det selv.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du kan godt finde på at gå ind og rette hele sætninger? Eller bytte rundt på paragrafer.
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja, det kan jeg godt.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad så med dansk? Hvad synes du om det sprog?
<b>Furkan</b>	Dansk? Jeg har hele tiden følt det var lidt mærkeligt. Samtidig synes jeg også det... fordi det er jo det sprog jeg skal snakke hver dag. Så det ligger bare på tungen. Men ellers er det typisk hvor jeg tænker, okay, det mærkeligt, fordi jeg synes selv det er sværere end alle andre sprog. F.eks. kan et ord have fem forskellige betydninger afhængig af, hvordan du bruger det, så det lidt mærkeligt, men ellers er det nemt nok.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Læser du på dansk udover skolearbejde?
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja, nogle gange... internet sider og sådan noget.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvordan har du det med at skrive på dansk? Griber du en engelsk og dansk opgave an på samme måde?
<b>Furkan</b>	Når jeg skal skrive på dansk.... Jeg føler faktisk på en måde, at dansk er sværere at skrive end engelsk, fordi alle de regler man har på dansk og kommaer og sådan noget. Det er meget sværere end på engelsk. Så derfor synes jeg, det er lettere at skrive på engelsk end dansk.

<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja, der er nogle andre kommaregler. Føler du måske der er nogle større krav, når du skriver på dansk?
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja, der er flere krav. Og der er flere regler du skal kigge på, hvor det ikke kun er indhold. Men i forhold til engelsk, når man skal skrive på engelsk, så fokuserer de mere på indholdet, og det sidder ligesom bare som man siger det.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad med i forhold til det med at planlægge og rette, gør du så det samme når du skriver på dansk i forhold til engelsk?
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja, jeg gør for det meste det samme.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Nu vil jeg spørg lidt ind til hvilke sprog du foretrækker at tale. Foretrækker du at snakke dansk eller dit modersmål med dine venner, som har samme modersmål som dig?
<b>Furkan</b>	Altså, nu vil jeg også gerne selv lære at snakke det [tyrkisk]. Men jeg er ikke god nok, så jeg lytter bare, og svarer på dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så du foretrækker at snakke dansk?
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Også med venner som har tyrkisk modersmål?
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja, fordi ellers kludrer jeg lidt i ordene. Som min far siger, det er lige meget om han lærer mig tyrkisk, når jeg nu kommer derned, vil jeg stadig kigge på dem og tænke "hvad er det, de siger". Fordi der er forskel på min accent og på dem i Tyrkiets.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Føler du så, det er en fordel eller en ulempe at være tosproget, når du lærer et nyt sprog i forhold til etsprogede?
<b>Furkan</b>	Jeg føler alligevel, at det er en fordel. Især hvis det er dansk, som er mit andetsprog, fordi dansk i forhold til andre sprog, er der kæmpe forskel. Så hvis jeg allerede kan dansk og så kan tyrkisk, så er det en kæmpe fordel fordi jeg kender begge sider af hvordan man udtaler ordene og hvad for nogle regler der er, så derfor føler jeg, det er en fordel.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så du føler, det er lettere for dig at lære engelsk end for en etsproget?
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja. For hvis jeg fokuserer på et sprog, så bliver det også kun det sprog. Ud fra det areal, hvor de snakker, så er det kun der, hvor man kan fokusere sig på. Hvor, hvis jeg kan to sprog, så er det større arealer jeg kan befinde mig på og flere mennesker, jeg kan snakke med.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad med selve indlæringen af et nyt sprog? Synes du så det er en fordel for eller ulempe at have flere sprog?
<b>Furkan</b>	Øhmmm?
<b>Interviewer</b>	F.eks. er der nogen der vil føle, at det er svært at lære et nyt sprog, når man allerede kan mere end et, fordi det måske kan forvirre, andre synes måske det bliver lettere. Hvad tænker du?
<b>Furkan</b>	Det er nok en fordel at kunne flere sprog, men det nok først sværere og endda en ulempe, fordi du skal lære så mange grammatiske regler, men når man først kan dem, er det nok lettere at lære nye sprog.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så du kan måske udnytte, at du har flere sprog, f.eks. i engelsk? Mht. udtalelse og.?
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja, der er måske lyde og accent som jeg er bedre til.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er du så mere glad for de sproglige eller matematiske fag i skolen?
<b>Furkan</b>	Der vil jeg nok sige de sproglige.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?

<b>Furkan</b>	Altså, jeg synes matematik er nemt, men det har hele tiden været de sproglige fag, som har været mine favoritter. Det var der, jeg var bedst fra starten, og fik bedst karakter fra starten.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du er mere til de sproglige fag. Nu siger du, at du synes det er svært at snakke tyrkisk, men kan du lide at tale det?
<b>Furkan</b>	Jeg kan godt lide det. Det er som om, det er på min tunge, men jeg kan bare ikke få det ud. For mig er tyrkisk og engelsk sprog jeg skal tænke igennem i hovedet før jeg taler. Jeg skal finde den korrekte rækkefølge i sætninger.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Furkan</b>	Men det gør mig rigtig glad, når andre kan forstå hvad jeg siger. Jeg forstår også meget mere end jeg gjorde før. Og det er vigtigt for mig. Det er jo mit modersmål. Jeg føler det er vigtigt at kunne sit eget modersmål. Jeg har været lidt flov, når folk har sagt ”hvad? kan du ikke tale dit modersmål?”. Og så har jeg svaret nej, desværre har mine forældre fokuseret på andre ting udover mit modersmål. De sagde, at det ikke er det vigtigste i det her liv, du lever. Jeg synes dog, det er vigtigt. Dét [Tyrkiet] er det sted, jeg er fra. Dét [Tyrkiet] er det sted, min familie bor, og det sprog, de taler.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Furkan</b>	Jeg føler, det er en pligt, at jeg lærer tyrkisk. Jeg ved at jeg ikke bruger det hver dag eftersom jeg bor i Danmark. Jeg taler dansk, ser dansk tv osv.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Furkan</b>	Selvom jeg ikke bruger det [tyrkisk] så meget, er det stadig sproget forbundet til mine rødder, og det betyder noget for hvem jeg er. Der er noget identitet i det. Hvis jeg ikke kan tyrkisk, hvad er jeg så? Fordi mine rødder er fra Tyrkiet, og hvis jeg ikke kender mine rødder, så er det som at jeg skal starte helt forfra, og det vil jeg ikke, fordi så vil jeg miste min identitet. Derfor skal jeg lære tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så du er meget motiveret, for at lære mere tyrkisk?
	Ja, det er jeg absolut.
	Som barn, hvilket sprog har dine forældre så snakket til dig, når I har været ude?
<b>Furkan</b>	Når vi har været på besøg har mine forældre snakket tyrkisk, men hvis vi lige har været ude hurtigt og købe ind, kunne de godt finde på at snakke på dansk og sige ”Furkan, hent lige det der”.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du som barn nogensinde oplevet, at det var pinligt at snakke dit modersmål et offentligt sted? Altså foran etnisk danskere.
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja, både og. Der er nogle tidspunkter hvor det føles lidt upassende at snakke tyrkisk når vi har været steder, der var meget dansk, og hvor folk snakkede rigtig godt dansk, hvor det bare er nærmest fuldkommen perfekt, og så vælger min ven lige at sige til mig på tyrkisk ”kom lige, jeg skal lige snakke med dig”, det virker dumt. Man er nødt til at tænke på hvor man befinder sig, og de skal føle sig trygge med hvem de er sammen med. Så når jeg er ude med mine venner, og der kun er etniske danskere kan jeg ikke lide at snakke Tyrkisk, for så vil de vide jeg er tosproget og så vil de tænke at jeg ikke er så klog. Men hvis det er foran nogle jeg kender, så er det okay at snakke tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du føler dig ikke helt tryk ved at snakke tyrkisk foran etniske danskere? F.eks. kunne det være foran ældre danskere eller..?

<b>Furkan</b>	Ja, lige præcis. Hvis jeg snakker tyrkisk foran en ældre dansker, det vil jeg helt sikkert ikke bryde mig om. Jeg kan forestille mig, hvordan deres øjne vil brænde min nakke og tænke ”hvorfør er du her” og det får mig til at tænke at jeg ikke burde tale det [Tyrkisk].
<b>Interviewer</b>	Det er selvfølgelig ikke en rar følelse.
<b>Furkan</b>	Nej, slet ikke.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Klart. Okay, nu går vi videre til et andet emne. Hvad kunne du godt tænke dig at læse til?
<b>Furkan</b>	Øhhh...det er jeg stadig ikke sikker på. Jeg har tænkt på at blive ingeniør. Jeg skal I hvert fald have mi gen gymnasial uddannelse, og så læse videre bagefter.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Forsøger dine forældre at opmuntre dig til at studere hårdt, eller i en bestemt retning eller er det noget du selv styrer?
<b>Furkan</b>	Min far har hele siden sagt, at det vigtigste i livet er at få sig en god uddannelse, fordi han ved selv fra sin tid, at hans far ikke gav ham lov til at studere meget. Han var ret klog, men hans far valgte at sige.... Jeg ved ikke om du kender til det, men dengang gjaldt det bare om at arbejde, arbejde, arbejde og tjene penge, så han fik ikke chancen for at studere. Derfor siger han til mig, at det vigtigste er, at jeg får mig en god uddannelse, at jeg så ikke klare det godt, det lige meget, så længe, jeg får mig en god uddannelse.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så det er vigtigt? Vil de have, du læser til noget bestemt.
<b>Furkan</b>	Nej, det er lige meget. Men selvfølgelig siger de indirekte, du skal blive noget rigtigt godt. Du skal blive til noget stort.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og hvad kunne det være?
<b>Furkan</b>	Det er klart sådan noget som læge, tandlæge eller ingeniør eller noget andet stort.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Nu går vi videre til et nyt emne. Jeg vil lige høre dig, hvilket sprog tror du, at du tænker på? Dvs. hvilket sprog har du i hovedet?
<b>Furkan</b>	Øhh det nok dansk. Det har været det sprog, der har været lettest for mig i løbet af årene.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja, det giver også mening, hvis det er det sprog, du er bedst til og har det bedst med.
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja, præcist.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvilket sprog tæller du på?
<b>Furkan</b>	Tæller?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Furkan</b>	Det er faktisk lidt forskelligt. Jeg har altid syntes, at det var sjovt at tælle på tyrkisk. Jeg ved ikke hvorfor det fanger mig, men jeg er bare meget begejstret for tyrkiske tal. Måske fordi jeg altid har hørt mine forældre tælle, f.eks. når de har skulle købe noget. Så nogle gange kan jeg godt finde på at tælle på tyrkisk, men ellers foregår det mest på dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så hvis du skulle ud at tælle et eller andet her om lidt, f.eks. hvor mange penge skylder en ven, hvilket sprog ville du så tælle på?
<b>Furkan</b>	På tyrkisk
<b>Interviewer</b>	Tror du så, at du er bedre til at tælle på tyrkisk?
	End dansk?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?

<b>Furkan</b>	Nej, tror generelt dansk er lettest for mig. Jeg ved ikke, men tyrkiske tal interesserer mig bare.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og det falder dig mest naturligt ind at tælle på tyrkisk?
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja, jeg ved ikke hvorfor.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Også hvis du er opover 100 når du tæller?
<b>Furkan</b>	Så begynder det nok at blive for svært.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad med i matematik?
<b>Furkan</b>	Der bruger jeg nok dansk, fordi der begynder det at blive svært at skulle regne på tyrkisk. Det går hurtigere på dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du synes det er sjovt at tælle på tyrkisk, men du er bedst til at tælle på dansk?
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja
<b>Interviewer</b>	Selvom du nu er bedre til tyrkisk, bruger du så dit tyrkiske i engelskundervisningen? Har du f.eks. kunne sammenligne ord eller? Eller tænkt ”det der minder om det der på tyrkisk f.eks.”?
<b>Furkan</b>	Ja, både og. Men det har været rigtig sjældent i hvert fald. Så har det været hvis jeg f.eks. har set en tyrkisk serie inden jeg er taget i skole, og jeg så kommer i skole og vi har et emne der minder om det, så kan jeg måske sammenligne nogle ting.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du oplevet i sprogundervisningen, f.eks. i engelsk, fransk eller tysk at du har kunne udnytte dit tyrkiske eller har du følt, du ikke måtte bruge dit tyrkiske?
<b>Furkan</b>	I fransk kan jeg bruge mit tyrkiske. Jeg kan bruge lydene og det, at der er en masse ord, der minder om hinanden. Jeg har kunne udnytte accenten til franskundervisningen. Accenten har hjulpet mig rigtig meget. Siden jeg har lært den tyrkiske accent, har den hjulpet mig rigtig meget i fransk. Så accenten har jeg kunne udnytte rigtig meget. Jeg bruger ikke mit tyrkiske i engelskundervisningen, forskellen er for stor.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du har ikke følt, du har kunne bruge dit tyrkiske i engelsk?
<b>Furkan</b>	Nej, ikke rigtig. Der er for stor forskel på tyrkisk og engelsk. Hvis jeg tager ned til Tyrkiet, så lyder det rigtig sjovt når de taler engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Jamen, det tror jeg var det, Furkan. Det var rigtig fint. Er der noget du selv synes jeg skal vide om dig og dit sprogbrug eller nogle ting der kunne være interessant for mig at vide?
<b>Furkan</b>	Jeg ved ikke...?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Eller har jeg fået det meste at vide?
<b>Furkan</b>	Du har fået det meste at vide.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Mange tak for din hjælp.
<b>Furkan</b>	Det var så lidt.

### Section 3 – transcription of interview with Danyal (case study 2 – high level)

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
Interviewer	For at starte fra en ende af, hvordan har det været at sidde med testene?
Danyal	Det var fint nok. Nem test kan man sige.
Interviewer	Det var nemt?
Danyal	Ja, testen var rigtig nem, jeg har nemt ved engelsk. Ja, det var jo bare grammatik og sprog, det var noget af det første jeg lærte.
Interviewer	Det var noget af det første du lærte? Kan du uddybe?
Danyal	Ja, da jeg var sådan rundt om sådan 6-7 år, så begyndte min bedstefar at lære mig normal-grammatik.
Interviewer	Okay?
Danyal	Derefter begyndte jeg at arbejde på det via tv-serier, og via min storebror.
Interviewer	Hvilket sprog lærte du grammatik på først?
Danyal	Tyrkisk
Interviewer	Okay, og så har du så selv overført den viden til andre sprog?
Danyal	Ja.
Interviewer	Okay, interessant. Nu vil jeg lige høre dig, hvad synes du om engelsk sådan helt generelt?
Danyal	Jeg synes sproget er sjovt og faget er også godt fordi... jeg kan virkelig godt lide min lærer. Han er virkelig sjov. Og ja, det er nok bare det. Det er et fag jeg virkelig godt kan lide at have.
Interviewer	Du kan godt lide at snakke engelsk?
Danyal	Ja.
Interviewer	Og det falder dig bare meget naturligt ind?
Danyal	Ja.
Interviewer	Hvad synes dine forældre om engelsk?
Danyal	Øhmm min mor er ikke så god til det, så hun laver mere bare sjov med det. Min far kan godt finde ud af det. Men de har mere en objektive måde at kigge på det, de ser det bare som endnu et sprog, som kan være nødvendig i nogle situationer.
Interviewer	Så de ser ikke engelsk som et sprog, der er strengt nødvendigt at lære?
Danyal	Nej, de siger bare, lær så mange sprog du kan.
Interviewer	Okay. Hvad med dine andre søskende, hvordan har de det med engelsk?
Danyal	Min storebror har det meget godt med engelsk. Han er bedre end mig.
Interviewer	Okay, så I har begge haft det godt med engelsk?
Danyal	Ja
Interviewer	Hvilke kanaler har i fortrinsvis set derhjemme?
Danyal	Vi har ikke set noget andet end tyrkiske kanaler. Altså, det er også en af grundene til mit tyrkiske er så udviklet.
Interviewer	Okay, så du er opvokset med at se tyrkisk tv?
Danyal	Ja, hele mit liv.
Interviewer	Ved du om dine forældre har haft, eller har en negativ eller positiv holdning til amerikanere eller englændere eller til U.S.A og England?
Danyal	Altså i forhold til normale mennesker på gaden, har de det fint, men rent historisk mæssigt, har de en smule had til englænderne pga. første verdenskrig. Men ellers ikke noget overfor dem nu.
Interviewer	Okay, hvad med i forhold til amerikanere?

<b>Danyal</b>	Dem har de det helt fint med.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Hvordan har du det så med at læse på engelsk? Synes du det er svært?
<b>Danyal</b>	Nej, jeg har det meget nemmere på engelsk end på nogen andre sprog.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvordan kan det være tror du?
<b>Danyal</b>	Sikkert fordi jeg kan forstå ordene bedre.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Bedre end dansk?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja, fordi altså ordene har bare en bedre forklaring på engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Læser du engelske tekster, ud over skolearbejde?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja, bøger.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Når du læser en tekst på engelsk, hvordan griber du det så an?
<b>Danyal</b>	Jeg skimmer den først, og så læser jeg den igennem grundig og slår ord op, jeg ikke forstår.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay så du starter med at danne dig et overblik, og så læser du den grundig igennem?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvordan har du det så med at skrive på engelsk? Er det svært?
<b>Danyal</b>	Det er ligeså nemt, som at læse det, fordi altså ordene er generelt skrevet, som de bliver sagt.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Når du skriver på engelsk, hvordan griber du det så an – planlægger du inden, undervejs eller skriver du bare løs?
<b>Danyal</b>	Jeg planlægger inden jeg skriver, og så skriver jeg igennem, og så får jeg ideer mens jeg skriver, og så skriver jeg også dem ned. Og så filtrer jeg i det.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du bliver også inspireret undervejs. Og din skrivning er en proces i cirkler hvor du ligesom skriver og planlægger løbende?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja præcist
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, og når du så er færdig, ændrer du så noget af det du har skrevet?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja, jeg retter den selvfølgelig igennem til sidst. Stavefejl og sådan noget.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, kigger du også på indhold også eller er det kun sprog?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja, det gør jeg også. Altså jeg kigger på sætningsopbygninger og paragraffer osv.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du retter en del igennem efterfølgende?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad synes du om dansk?
<b>Danyal</b>	Jeg synes det er kedeligt. Altså ”hygge” [griner]. Nogle ord kan bare ikke oversættes til andre sprog. Og så er der bare en masse grammatiske regler og bøjninger og det kan godt forvirre mig.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du er ikke helt begejstret for dansk?
<b>Danyal</b>	Nej, men det er jo et nødvendigt sprog...så...
<b>Interviewer</b>	Læser du så på dansk?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja det gør jeg.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad læser du?
<b>Danyal</b>	Bøger.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du læser både meget på engelsk og på dansk?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvordan har du det så med at skrive på dansk?
<b>Danyal</b>	På dansk... altså jeg laver nogle typiske grammatisk fejl med nutids-r og punktummer og kommaer, det er nok det jeg er dårligst til. Men bortset fra det,

	er det ok. Der er bare en masse ord, jeg ikke kan på dansk, som jeg kan på engelsk. Jeg tror det hedder ordviden, vocabulary
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Ordforråd?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja, ordforråd. Jeg kan ikke lide det så meget...at skrive på dansk i forhold til engelsk. Jeg føler mit ordforråd er større på engelsk i forhold til dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så dit ordforråd er meget større på engelsk?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad så når du skal skrive på dansk? Griber du en dansk og en engelsk opgave an på samme måde? Dvs. gør du det samme før og under skriveprocessen?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja det ville jeg.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så der er ikke noget der er anderledes?
<b>Danyal</b>	Nej
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Fortrækker du at snakke dansk eller dit modersmål med dine venner, som har samme modersmål som dig?
<b>Danyal</b>	Altså hvis det er nogle der har same modersmål som mig, og jeg bare skal snakke casual, så vil jeg nok snakke dansk. Men hvis de gør noget forkert og jeg gerne vil vise seriøsitet, så vil jeg nok gøre det på tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, der virker bedre?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja, for det virker bare meget bedre. Så kan de forstå det er mere seriøst.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så når du skal tale om noget seriøst, så du foretrække at gøre det på tyrkisk?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja. Og sådan er det også med mig og min bror. Vi snakker normalt dansk og engelsk, men hvis jeg gør noget han ikke kan lide, så sætter han bare strengen på tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Men dvs. du har ikke nogen venner, som du udelukkende snakker tyrkisk med?
<b>Danyal</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Føler du, det er en fordel eller en ulempe, at være tosproget, når du lærer et nyt sprog i forhold til etsprogede?
<b>Danyal</b>	Både og. Det er en stor fordel fordi jeg kan sammenligne grammatik og regler. Jeg kunne forestille mig, en dansker vil synes det er sværere at lære f.eks. arabisk i forhold til en tyrker.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så der føler du at du faktisk vil kunne udnytte dit tyrkiske?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja, meget.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du så oplevet på nogle punkter, at det ikke har været en fordel at være tosproget?
<b>Danyal</b>	Hvis det ikke har været i forhold til sprog, er det ikke en fordel, fordi jeg har været subjekt for en masse racisme. Folk har kigget på mig og tænkt jeg var mindre klog. Så har de bare kigget på mig med skæve øjne.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay? Så føler du, de ser dig som mindre intelligent?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja. Men det har også været sjovt at vise dem, at det ikke er sådan.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du følt det har været en fordel i f.eks. matematik og sådan noget, at være tosproget?
<b>Danyal</b>	Nej ikke rigtigt, fordi jeg har jo ikke lært matematik på mit modersmål. Der er nogle andre udsagn osv.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er du så mere glad for de sproglige eller matematiske fag i skolen?
<b>Danyal</b>	Det nok de sproglige.



<b>Interviewer</b>	De sproglige?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja, helt klart.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Kan du godt lide at tale tyrkisk?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Det kan du godt lide?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja. Jeg synes bare, det er et meget fint sprog.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Det kan jeg godt forstå du synes.
<b>Danyal</b>	[Griner].
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du som barn nogensinde oplevet, at det var pinligt at snakke tyrkisk et offentligt sted?
<b>Danyal</b>	Nej, fordi mit tyrkiskniveau er hele tiden forøget med alderen, så det har aldrig været pinligt at snakke foran andre. Jeg har ikke tænkt, at hvis jeg taler forkert, hvad tænker de så om mig. Og hvis jeg talte forkert, ville de bare rette mig.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad med hvis du har været steder, hvor der kun har været etnisk danskere, har du så stadig haft det fint med at snakke tyrkisk foran dem?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja, altså, når jeg er foran etnisk danskere, så taler jeg bare finere dansk. Jeg tiltaler dem f.eks. med "De".
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og hvad så hvis du var ude med din mor eller talte i telefon med hende eller?
<b>Danyal</b>	Så ville jeg bare snakke tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Du har aldrig følt det var pinligt?
<b>Danyal</b>	Nej, nej, aldrig. Og hvis de kigger sådan på mig, vil jeg bare sige "jeg har det nemmere med at snakke med min mor på tyrkisk og hvis du har et problem, så sig det".
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvordan kan det være, tror du, at du er så stolt af dit modersmål? Er det noget du har hjemmefra?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja, fordi min mor har hele tiden sagt "Danyal, du er fin som du er, du bør ikke ændre noget".
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Og hvad kunne du godt tænke dig at læse til?
<b>Danyal</b>	Jeg vil gerne være psykolog.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Danyal</b>	At kunne flere sprog kan godt være en hjælp til det.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Forsøger dine forældre at opmuntre dig til at studere hårdt, eller i en bestemt retning, eller er det noget du selv styrer?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja. Altså de siger, "Danyal, du skal arbejde hårdt. Der er intet i verden, som ikke kan opnås igennem hårdt arbejde". Altså man kan ikke få noget uden at arbejde hårdt.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og har det påvirket dig i forhold til hvad du vil læse til?
<b>Danyal</b>	Nej, det mig selv, der vil være psykolog.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, nu vil jeg lige spørge ind til de sprog du kan og hvordan du tænker. Hvilket sprog tænker du på?
<b>Danyal</b>	Jeg tænker på engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	På engelsk?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja, det er en forfærdelig vane.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Tænker du på engelsk hele tiden? Hvis du nu går hjem her om lidt og slapper lidt af, og f.eks. tager en lur, når du så står op, vil du så også tænke på engelsk?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja, og det er ikke så godt, fordi det påvirker også mit daglige sprog.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?

<b>Danyal</b>	Jeg formulerer mine danske sætninger på engelsk. F.eks. jeg sagde til min ven i går ”jeg drak to kopper af kaffe...I drank two kop cups of coffee” så ændrede jeg det hurtigt til ”to kopper kaffe”. Altså...
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvordan kan det være, du tænker på engelsk?
<b>Danyal</b>	Det har bare været sådan i virkelig lang tid. Jeg ved ikke hvorfor. Det sker automatisk, og nogle gange føler jeg, at jeg bedre kan tænke og udtrykke mine tanker på engelsk i stedet for dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Hvad så i matematik? Hvilket sprog vil du tælle på?
<b>Danyal</b>	Det lidt forskelligt, jeg tæller normalt på dansk, og nogle gange på tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay? Dansk og tyrkisk?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja, jeg kan tallene nemmere på tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så, hvis du om nogle timer sidder derhjemme, og skal prøve at tælle hvor mange penge, en ven skylder dig, hvilket sprog vil du så tælle på, tror du?
<b>Danyal</b>	Hundrede procent på tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay?
<b>Danyal</b>	Fordi de lave tal kan jeg helt sikkert bedst på tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad så med højere tal?
<b>Danyal</b>	F.eks. tusinder osv., tænker jeg på dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så er det er op til hundrede du tæller på tyrkisk eller hvordan?
<b>Danyal</b>	Op til 500 på tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay?
<b>Danyal</b>	Og resten på dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Tænker du aldrig på tyrkisk?
<b>Danyal</b>	Jo, måske engang imellem, når jeg er sammen med familien.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Tænker du nogensinde på tyrkisk i engelskundervisningen?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja. Fordi der er nogle grammatiske ting som jeg udnytter, og det bliver brugbart.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du kan godt sidde og sammenligne grammatiske regler?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, dvs. du har oplevet at kunne udnytte dit tyrkiske i engelskundervisningen. Men har du nogensinde oplevet at du ikke har måtte bruge dit tyrkiske?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja, da jeg har oplevet peer-pressure og at jeg ikke må bruge mit modersmål i skolen, og at her i Danmark skal vi snakke dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du har oplevet det fra dine klassekammerater?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja det fra mine klassekammerater.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay?
<b>Danyal</b>	Så efter et stykke tid har jeg bare tænkt, at hvis de ikke vil høre det, så taler jeg det bare ikke mere.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Kunne det f.eks. være hvis du har ville udnytte dit tyrkiske under gruppearbejde, og du ikke har følt det var i orden?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad med I forhold til jeres lærere? Har du følt de har syntes det var okay, at du har brugt dit tyrkiske?
<b>Danyal</b>	Vores lærer vil have vi lærer engelsk igennem dansk og ikke igennem f.eks. tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay? Hvad har du ellers af fremmedsprog i skolen?

<b>Danyal</b>	Tysk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er det ligesådan? At du føler du skal lære det igennem dansk og ikke må bruge tyrkisk?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja, det det er det samme.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, men du burger dit tyrkiske i tysk undervisningen alligevel?
<b>Danyal</b>	[Griner] ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Har du kunne udnytte dit tyrkiske i andre sammenhænge, dvs. udover at sammenligne grammatiske regler?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja, i forhold til ordforråd.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Danyal</b>	F.eks. i albansk og i japansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Albansk og japansk? Er du ved at lære det også?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja, jeg har gået til det i tre år.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Wow. Du bliver lige nødt til at fortælle mig, hvor mange sprog du kan, og hvornår du lærte dem?
<b>Danyal</b>	Altså dansk, fordi jeg er født her.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, men tyrkisk først?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja, det snakkede mine forældre og så lærte jeg dansk bagefter. Og så engelsk. Og så startede jeg til japansk i 6. klasse.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay?
<b>Danyal</b>	Og så i 7. fik vi tysk. Og så startede jeg til albansk sidste år.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du går både til japansk og albansk nu?
<b>Danyal</b>	Nej, albansk startede jeg med at lære igennem en ven som bor i Kosovo. Fordi så lærer jeg også det daglige sprog.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Imponerende. Og hvor meget japansk kan du nu?
<b>Danyal</b>	Bade mundtligt og skriftligt.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Det kan du?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Flot. Og hvor har du gået til det henne?
<b>Danyal</b>	På ungdomsskolen.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er underviseren så japaner?
<b>Danyal</b>	Nej, det er en, der har boet i Japan, og har studeret japansk
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, og du går stadig til det?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Du er generelt bare glad for at lære sprog?
<b>Danyal</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Interessant. Er der ellers noget du vil fortælle om dig selv og dit sprog brug eller lignende? Eller var det det.
<b>Danyal</b>	Øhmmm nej, det var vist det.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Jamen, så tror jeg det var det. Mange tak for din hjælp, Danyal.
<b>Danyal</b>	Selv tak.

## Section 4 – transcription of interview with Jasmina (case study 3 – low level)

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
Interviewer	For at starte fra en ende af, hvordan har det været at sidde med testene?
Jasmina	Jeg synes den var rigtig svært, og jeg ved godt, at jeg ikke er så god til engelsk, men jeg synes den var virkelig svær at forstå i forhold til de normale engelskprøver.
Interviewer	Ja? Men det har du også ret i, at niveauet var lidt højere. Så det skal du ikke være ked af. Men hvad synes du om engelsk sådan generelt?
Jasmina	Jeg kan ikke lide det. Altså jeg synes, engelsk er rigtig svært. Jeg er ikke god til det. Jeg ved, at engelsk er et vigtigt sprog, men jeg ved ikke, det er også derfor at jeg prøver at øve det derhjemme ved at læse bøger og sådan nogle ting. Jeg ved i hvert fald det er et sprog jeg skal øve mig på.
Interviewer	Okay. Og det er det eneste fag du har svært ved kan jeg forstå? Du har det ret let ved alle andre fag?
Jasmina	Ja.
Interviewer	Og det er lidt sjovt, at du så kun har svært ved engelsk
Jasmina	Ja, jeg ved ikke. Men ja, det har jeg.
Interviewer	Hvad er det ved engelsk du synes er svært?
Jasmina	Øhmm...jeg ved ikke hvorfor, men jeg føler det er svært at bygge en sætning op. Jeg har svært ved ordene. Jeg kan ikke så mange ord. Derfor ved jeg heller ikke hvordan jeg kan bygge sætninger når jeg ikke kan så mange ord.
Interviewer	Hvorfor tror du, at du har haft det så svært med engelsk?
Jasmina	Jeg ved ikke...men i fjerde klasse, da vi havde engelsk, der følte jeg, at jeg var på samme niveau som de andre, men som årene gik og vi blev ved med at få nye lærere, vi har skiftet lærer fire til fem gange, det gjorde det sværere og sværere. Så i syvende klasse fik vi noget [engelsk materiale] der var for højt et niveau til mig, så jeg kunne ikke følge med de andre.
Interviewer	Okay, så følte du pludselig, at du ikke kunne følge med de andre?
Jasmina	Ja.
Interviewer	Hvad synes dine forældre om engelsk?
Jasmina	Altså de siger, det er ret vigtigt, men de er heller ikke selv særligt gode. Men de siger i hvert fald, at engelsk er rigtig vigtigt, og jeg bliver nødt til at øve mig og blive bedre.
Interviewer	Hvilke kanaler har i fortrinsvis set derhjemme?
Jasmina	For det meste tyrkiske kanaler, men nogle gange ser min lillebror danske tegnefilm, men ja, ellers tyrkisk.
Interviewer	Okay, så I er opvokset med at se tyrkisk tv?
Jasmina	Ja.
Interviewer	Ved du om dine forældre har en negativ eller positiv holdning til amerikanere eller englændere eller til U.S.A og England?
Jasmina	Altså, det ved jeg ikke helt, har ikke hørt noget negativt i hvert fald, så tror deres holdning er sådan positive.
Interviewer	Hvordan har du det så med at læse på engelsk? Synes du det er svært?
Jasmina	Jeg synes det er nemmere at forstå når man læser det, end når man hører det, for så kan jeg se ordene for mig, det synes jeg er lettere.

<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du har lettere ved at forstå engelsk, når du læser det, end når du hører det?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Læser du engelske tekster, ud over skolearbejde?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja, jeg prøver fordi min lærer har også sagt det til mig... fordi jeg er sådan lidt lavere end de andre i niveau, så ja jeg prøver at blive bedre.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du prøver at blive bedre? Hvad kunne det være, som du læser?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Det ikke noget svært, det er sådan noget let. Fordi jeg er faktisk ret dårlig. Så det er bare sådan nogle lette bøger.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Du prøver?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Når du læser en tekst på engelsk, hvordan griber du det så an? Vil du f.eks. stoppe ved hvert ord du ikke forstår, og evt. slå dem op, eller hvordan vil du gøre?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Altså vi slår faktisk ord op, også fordi min lærer siger vi skal gøre det. Så jeg slår også ord op, fordi der er mange ting, jeg ikke forstår.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvordan plejer du at gøre det? Læser du langsomt og slår ordene op, eller læser du det hele igennem og slår ordene op bagefter?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Det lidt forskelligt, men nogle gange streger jeg ordene over og slår dem op bagefter. Det lidt forskelligt
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvordan har du det så med at skrive på engelsk? Er det svært?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja, fordi jeg er virkelig ikke god til sådan noget med verber og hvordan man skal skrive sætninger.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Når du skriver på engelsk, hvordan griber du det så an – planlægger du inden, undervejs eller skriver du bare løs?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Først starter jeg med at skrive på dansk, hvad formålet er, og så prøver jeg at skrive det på engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du starter faktisk med at planlægge det på dansk?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og så går du i gang med at skrive på engelsk?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja, fordi jeg kan ikke bare gå i gang med at skrive på engelsk...såå.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Bliver du så inspireret undervejs? Og måske ændre i din plan?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja, hvis det er en bestemt opgave vi skal skrive til skole, så ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Når du så har skrevet din tekst, ændrer du den så til sidst?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja, altså jeg retter den igennem, og nogle gange får jeg også mine veninder til at kigge den igennem, om der er nogle fejl og sådan nogle ting.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så det er mere sproget du kigger på bagefter?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, nu går vi videre til et nyt emne. Hvad synes du om dansk?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Dansk? Jeg kan godt lide sproget dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Læser du så på dansk?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja, det gør jeg. Jeg læser danske bøger og sådan nogle ting
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Hvordan har du det så med at skrive på dansk?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Altså det har jeg det fint med. Jeg føler godt, jeg kan finde ud af det og sådan nogle ting.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Griber du en dansk og en engelsk opgave an på samme måde? Dvs. gør du det samme før og under skriveprocessen?

<b>Jasmina</b>	Nej, altså i dansk føler jeg det er nemmere, og der kan jeg ligesom gå i gang med det samme, fordi jeg ved, jeg godt kan formulere mig ordentligt og derfor kan jeg bare skrive derudad. Men jeg planlægger selvfølgelig også.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Fortrækker du at snakke dansk eller dit modersmål med dine venner, som har samme modersmål som dig?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Jeg snakker faktisk for det meste dansk, men nogle gange hvis der er nogle ting jeg skal forklare, så kan jeg godt gøre det på tyrkisk, men ellers snakker jeg for det meste dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så I snakker for det meste dansk, medmindre der er noget du skal forklare, så gør du det på tyrkisk?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Føler du, det er en fordel eller en ulempe, at være tosproget, når du lærer et nyt sprog i forhold til etsprogede?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Altså jeg har hørt, at det på en måde er godt at være tosproget, men i engelsk, der føler jeg det er dårligt. Jeg er ikke god til engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så du har følt, det var en ulempe i forhold til engelsk?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad med i forhold til tysk?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Der har jeg faktisk klaret det fint, der er jeg ligeså god som de andre, hvis ikke bedre. Så der har jeg klaret det godt i forhold til engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så i forhold til tysk har det ikke været en ulempe at have flere sprog?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er du så mere glad for de sproglige eller matematiske fag i skolen?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Jeg tror, det er de matematiske fag.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Kan du godt lide at tale tyrkisk?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du som barn nogensinde oplevet, at det var pinligt at snakke tyrkisk et offentligt sted?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Nej det synes jeg ikke. Nogle gange har man ikke lyst til at snakke tyrkisk fordi det er uhøfligt og respektløst at snakke det foran andre [etnisk danskere]. Men jeg ser det ikke som pinligt og ydmygende.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Det er ikke pinligt?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Nej, det er det ikke.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad kunne du godt tænke dig at læse til?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Det er jeg rigtig forvirret over, fordi jeg ved ikke hvad jeg vil efter 9. klasse. Jeg ved i hvert fald, jeg skal tage en gymnasial uddannelse, så ved jeg ikke mere.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så der er ikke et eller andet bestemt du kunne tænke dig at læse til?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Forsøger dine forældre at opmuntre dig til at studere hårdt, eller i en bestemt retning, eller er det noget du selv styrer?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Altså det er på en måde noget jeg selv styrer, fordi min far har altid sagt, vælg noget du selv kan lide, så jeg kan blive ved med at kunne lide det. Så det er noget jeg selv vælger.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har de prøvet at opmuntre dig og give dig ideer til hvad du kunne læse til?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja, altså, de siger "hvad med dét, eller dét..". Men de siger ikke, at de synes jeg skal gøre sådan og sådan, men de kommer med ideer, f.eks. du kan være pædagog og sådan nogle ting.

<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Nu går vi lidt videre til et nyt emne. Du ved, vi har alle et sprog vi tænker på, hvilke sprog tror du, at du tænker du på?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Jeg tror jeg tænker mest dansk, men også på tyrkisk tror jeg.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvornår tror du, at du tænker på tyrkisk? Kunne det være i situationer når du er sammen med familien?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja, det tror jeg. Når jeg er sammen med familien. De snakker jo for det meste tyrkisk til mig, især min far, fordi han ikke er så god dansk. Så kan det godt være, jeg tænker tyrkisk, ellers tror jeg det er på dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så når du bare er for dig selv, tænker du på dansk?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvilket sprog tæller du på?
<b>Jasmina</b>	På dansk
<b>Interviewer</b>	På dansk?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja, jeg synes jeg er bedre til at tælle på dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Nu har du skrevet, at du har modtaget modersmålsundervisning i tyrkisk i fire år?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Føler du, at du blev god, da du gik til det?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Nej, da jeg gik til det, føler jeg ikke vi lærte noget. Men jeg synes, jeg er god når jeg sammenligner mig med andre. Så synes jeg, jeg er ret god til det.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Føler du, at du er lige god til tyrkisk og dansk?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Nej, jeg føler jeg er bedre til dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Fordi jeg også føler jeg kan de grammatiske regner på dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du nogensinde følt, du kunne bruge dit tyrkiske i engelsk undervisningen?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Nej, det har været mere på dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du aldrig oplevet at du har tænkt "nå, ja det er ligesom på tyrkisk"? Eller oplevet noget der mindede dig om tyrkisk?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Nåhhh ja, f.eks. i går var der et ord, som ikke var det samme på dansk, men som var det samme på tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ahh, okay. Hvad var det for et ord?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Det kan jeg ikke huske. Men jeg tænkte, at det også var sådan på tyrkisk
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Så du har oplevet episode, hvor du har kunne bruge dit tyrkiske?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du oplevet i sprogundervisning at du kunne udnytte dit tyrkiske eller har du følt at du ikke må bruge det, og kun dansk og engelsk?
<b>Jasmina</b>	I engelsk føler jeg godt, jeg kan udnytte det, så ved jeg jo hvad ordet betyder, og så behøver jeg ikke slå det op. Der kan jeg godt bruge ordet.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Har du oplevet at blive opmuntret af din lærer til at bruge dit tyrkiske? Eller måske fået besked på ikke at bruge det?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Altså... jeg føler sådan nogle gange... jeg ved det ikke faktisk. Alle vores tidligere engelsklærere og lærere i andre fag, undtagen vores nuværende engelsklærer, vil ikke have vi snakker andre sprog i skolen. Men hvis der er noget min veninde ikke forstår, siger de [lærerne] at det er okay, jeg hurtigt forklarer det på tyrkisk, men ellers vil de ikke have det.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så det er ikke fordi det er bandlyst at snakke tyrkisk?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Nej, men de vil faktisk ikke have vi snakker andre sprog.

<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så de kan godt finde på at fortælle jer, at I ikke må snakke andre sprog?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja, f.eks. i pauserne siger de, at det er respektløst hvis mine venner og jeg snakker tyrkisk og der er andre ved siden af os, som ikke forstår det. Så de vil gerne have vi snakker dansk for det meste, og ikke holder andre ude.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så det er for ikke at holde andre ude?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja, præcis.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og hvordan har du det med det?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Det fint nok.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, Jasmina, jeg tror, det var det. Mange tak for din hjælp.
<b>Jasmina</b>	Det var så lidt.

## Section 5 – extract from interview with Ayaz

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
	(...)
	(...)
<b>Interviewer</b>	Griber du en dansk og en engelsk opgave an på samme måde? Dvs. gør du det samme før og under skriveprocessen?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Jeg laver en brainstorm før jeg skriver på begge sprog. Men jeg foretrækker faktisk at skrive på engelsk, der er bare for mange krav på dansk i forhold til engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du har lettere ved at skrive på engelsk?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Ja, det synes jeg.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Nu går vi videre til nogle andre spørgsmål. Fortrækker du at snakke dansk eller dit modersmål med dine venner, som har samme modersmål som dig?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du vil aldrig snakke tyrkisk eller kurdisk med dine venner?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Nej, ikke rigtig, jeg snakker mere tyrkisk eller kurdisk ved behov.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Du skriver, at du har to modersmål, tyrkisk og kurdisk. Føler du, at du er lige god til begge sprog?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Ja, jeg føler, jeg er lige god til tyrkisk og kurdisk, men måske lidt bedre til tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Kan du læse og skrive på begge sprog?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Nej, kun på tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Og hvilket sprog kan du bedst lide?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, og hvilket sprog taler du og dine søskende sammen?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så I har aldrig snakket tyrkisk eller kurdisk sammen?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Nej, ikke rigtig.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og har du også talt dansk med dine forældre, eller kun tyrkisk og kurdisk?



<b>Ayaz</b>	Også dansk nogle gange.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Føler du, det er en fordel eller en ulempe at være flersproget, når du lærer et nyt sprog i forhold til etsprogede?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Ja, det er en fordel, fordi nogle gange møder du ord, der minder dig om hinanden, og når du lærer engelsk, så ved du allerede noget.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja, så du ser det som en fordel?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er du så mere glad for de sproglige eller matematiske fag i skolen?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Begge dele faktisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Kan du godt lide at tale tyrkisk?
	Ja, det vel fint nok. Det kan jeg vel godt lide.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du som barn nogensinde oplevet, at det var pinligt at snakke dit modersmål et offentligt sted?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Øhmm?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Altså hvor du har følt, du ikke har haft lyst til at snakke et andet sprog, måske for ikke at føle dig anderledes, eller har det været ok?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Ja det har jeg nok.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, kan du uddybe?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Jeg kunne bare ikke lide at mine forældre snakkede tyrkisk eller kurdisk udenfor, jeg prøvede altid at snakke lavt.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du brød dig ikke om at de snakkede et andet sprog end dansk til dig foran andre?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad kunne du godt tænke dig at læse til?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Altså mener du, hvad jeg gerne vil være?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Jeg har tænkt på, at jeg gerne vil være læge.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Ja. Men det må karaktererne vise.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Forsøger dine forældre at opmuntre dig til at studere hårdt, eller i en bestemt retning eller er det noget du selv styrer?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Ja, de støtter mig.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, men det er dig selv, der har lyst til at læse til læge?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Altså f.eks. vil jeg gerne være læge selv, og mine forældre støtter mig også i det.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Og nu til nogle lidt anderledes spørgsmål. Hvilket sprog tror du, at du tænker du på? Dvs. når du går og f.eks. tænker over nogle ting, hvilket sprog er dine tanker på?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Dansk og engelsk
<b>Interviewer</b>	Dansk og engelsk?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Kunne du finde på at tænke på tyrkisk eller kurdisk?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Måske nogle gange. Sjældent.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvilket sprog tæller du på?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Dansk og engelsk. Jeg kan godt lide at tælle på engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Og hvad med i matematik?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Der vil jeg bruge dansk.

<b>Interviewer</b>	Tænker du nogensinde på tyrkisk i engelskundervisningen?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Nej? Har du oplevet i sprogundervisning – f.eks i engelsk, tysk eller fransk – at du kunne udnytte dit tyrkiske?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Nej, ikke rigtigt.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så du har aldrig følt, du kommer til at tænke på at nogle ord, eller noget grammatik, får dig til at tænke på tyrkisk eller kurdisk?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Nej, det har jeg ikke.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er der ellers noget, du tænker jeg skulle vide, om dit sprogbrug?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, tak for hjælpen.

## Section 6 – extract from interview with Serhat

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
	(...)
	(...)
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvor meget tyrkisk og kurdisk har I snakket derhjemme?
<b>Serhat</b>	Vi har primært snakket kurdisk. Og lidt dansk nogle gange.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og intet tyrkisk?
<b>Serhat</b>	Jo lidt blandet nogle gange. Mange af mine familiemedlemmer snakker ikke kurdisk, så der snakker vi tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Men kan du f.eks. bedre læse og skrive på kurdisk i forhold til tyrkisk.
<b>Serhat</b>	Nej, jeg kan slet ikke læse på kurdisk, der er nogle mærkelige bogstaver.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Kan du skrive på tyrkisk?
<b>Serhat</b>	Ja, det kan jeg godt.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er det så primært når I har været sammen med resten af familien, som kun snakker tyrkisk, at du har hørt tyrkisk?
<b>Serhat</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad med tv? Har I så set kurdisk tv?
<b>Serhat</b>	Nej, tyrkisk tv.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du er opvokset med at se tyrkiske kanaler?
<b>Serhat</b>	Ja
<b>Interviewer</b>	(...)
<b>Serhat</b>	(...)
<b>Interviewer</b>	Føler du, det er en fordel eller en ulempe at være flersproget, når du lærer et nyt sprog i forhold til etsprogede?
<b>Serhat</b>	Hmmm...der kan måske godt være en lille ulempe.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja, hvordan?
<b>Serhat</b>	Jeg tror det er hårdere for flersprogede pga. tja-lyden.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og den lyd, kan være lidt svær at lægge på hylden?

<b>Serhat</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og, der tænker du, at det skal en etsproget ikke tænke på?
<b>Serhat</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er du så mere glad for de sproglige eller matematiske fag i skolen?
<b>Serhat</b>	Sproglige.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Kan du godt lide at tale kurdisk?
<b>Serhat</b>	Ja, meget.
<b>Interviewer</b>	For du kan måske ikke nok tyrkisk?
<b>Serhat</b>	Nej, ikke så meget.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du som barn nogensinde oplevet, at det var pinligt at snakke dit modersmål et offentligt sted?
<b>Serhat</b>	Næ.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, du har altid haft det fint med at snakke det foran andre?
<b>Serhat</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad kunne du godt tænke dig at læse til?
<b>Serhat</b>	Noget med samfundsfag.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Noget bestemt?
<b>Serhat</b>	Nej, men jeg kan godt lide samfundsfag.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Forsøger dine forældre at opmuntre dig til at studere hårdt, eller i en bestemt retning eller er det noget du selv styrer?
<b>Serhat</b>	Ja, de siger, jeg skal læse til advokat eller læge.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så de har ambitioner på dine vegne?
<b>Serhat</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, og hvilke sprog tænker du på?
<b>Serhat</b>	Oppe i hjernen?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Serhat</b>	Dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og du vil også tælle på dansk?
<b>Serhat</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Tænker du nogensinde på kurdisk eller tyrkisk i engelskundervisningen?
<b>Serhat</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du oplevet i sprogundervisning at du kunne udnytte dit kurdiske eller tyrkiske?
<b>Serhat</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så der har ikke været episoder, hvor du har følt, at der har været nogle ting i f.eks. engelsk, der har fået dig til at tænke på tyrkisk eller kurdisk?
<b>Serhat</b>	Nej, ikke rigtig.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, jamen tak for hjælpen, Serhat.

## Section 7 – extract from interview with Baris

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
Interviewer	For at starte fra en ende af, hvordan har det været at sidde med testene?
Baris	Den var fin. Okay nem.
Interviewer	Hvad synes du om engelsk, sådan helt generelt?
Baris	Engelsk? Det synes jeg rigtig godt om, fordi jeg skal til USA og studere på high school.
Interviewer	Ja, det skrev du i spørgeskemaet. Så du er meget glad for engelsk?
Baris	Ja det er jeg.
Interviewer	Hvad synes dine forældre om engelsk?
Baris	Mine forældre? Altså min far bruger det lidt, men han er ikke særlig god til det.
Interviewer	Ved ud hvad deres holdning er til sproget generelt?
Baris	Mine forældre er ret positive omkring engelsk. De ser det som et universelt sprog. Så det er godt man får det lært.
Interviewer	Hvad med dine søskende, hvordan har de det med engelsk?
Baris	Min bror? Han har det lidt sværere end mig, men han synes også, det er et godt sprog.
Interviewer	Har dine forældre en negativ eller positiv holdning til amerikanere eller englændere eller til U.S.A og England?
Baris	De har generelt en positiv holdning vil jeg mene.
Interviewer	Okay. Og hvilke kanaler har I primært set derhjemme?
Baris	Altså min mor er fra Bosnien og min far er fra Tyrkiet, så det er primært danske kanaler vi har set.
Interviewer	Okay. Men du skriver at tyrkisk er dit modersmål?
Baris	Ja.
Interviewer	Men kan du bosnisk også?
Baris	Ja.
Interviewer	Okay. Hvor meget kan du af hvert vil du sige?
Baris	Jeg ville sige jeg er 90 % god til tyrkisk og 70 % til bosnisk.
Interviewer	Okay?
Baris	Og så kan jeg 100 % fransk.
Interviewer	Okay, og hvor kan du det fra?
Baris	Bare her fra skolen.
Interviewer	Hvad vil du så umiddelbart sige er dit modersmål?
Baris	Nok tyrkisk. Men så igen, så har vi snakket så meget dansk også, så det er lidt svært at sige.
	(...)
	(...)
Interviewer	Hvilket sprog tænker du på? Hvis vi siger, du går ud her fra, og du går lidt for dig selv om lidt, hvilket sprog tænker du så på, tror du?
Baris	Må jeg gerne sige, at det er et svært spørgsmål?
Interviewer	Ja, det har du ret i. Det er ikke noget man tænker over.
Baris	Primært føler jeg også, at jeg er etnisk. F.eks. når jeg træder ind ad døren, så kan jeg lugte mad, der er anderledes end dansk. Og det kan godt få mig til at tænke på bosnisk og tyrkisk. Så det er nok mere de omgivelser, der gør, at det har en effekt på, hvad jeg tænker på.

<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvis du f.eks. sidder på dit værelse for dig selv, hvilket sprog tror du, du vil tænke på? Hvad vil falde dig mest naturligt ind?
<b>Baris</b>	Nok dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og hvilket sprog tæller du på?
<b>Baris</b>	Dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Men omgivelserne kan gøre, at du skifter sprog du tænker på?
<b>Baris</b>	Ja, lidt.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Tænker du nogensinde på tyrkisk eller bosnisk i engelskundervisningen? Altså har du følt, du kunne bruge dine modersmål på nogle måder?
<b>Baris</b>	Nej ikke i engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du kunne bruge dem i fransk?
<b>Baris</b>	Jeg har brugt mit tyrkisk og bosnisk mere i fransk end i engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja, hvordan?
<b>Baris</b>	Udtalelsen af nogle ord, der ens i tyrkisk, bosnisk og fransk, og der har hjulpet mig.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Baris</b>	F.eks. i fransk skal man rulle meget med tungen og udtale ordene perfekt. Og der føler jeg, de sprog jeg kan, har hjulpet mig. F.eks. i bosnisk er der meget sådan noget "tje" og "sje" og nogle bløde lyde. Og f.eks. i tyrkisk er der meget "tja" og "re" lyde. På fransk er det halv, halv faktisk, så jeg har kunne bruge lydene fra tyrkisk og fransk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Så det har primært været i forhold til lyde og udtalelse, at du føler du har kunne bruge dine modersmål?
<b>Baris</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og ikke i grammatik eller andet?
<b>Baris</b>	Nej, fordi fransk grammatik er meget svært.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er der ellers andet du vil fortælle?
<b>Baris</b>	Nej, ikke rigtigt
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, mange tak for hjælpen, Baris.

## Section 8 – extract from interview with Leyla

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvordan var det at sidde med testen?
<b>Leyla</b>	Altså, jeg kunne godt mærke at den var sådan helt for voksne mennesker. Jeg prøvede bare at gøre mit bedste ellers.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Synes du den var svær?
<b>Leyla</b>	Ja. Det var den.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad synes du om engelsk, sådan helt generelt?
<b>Leyla</b>	Engelsk er meget interessant. Jeg har forberedt mig selv siden syvende klasse. Så jeg kan godt mærke, at jeg har forbedret mig selv.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja. Og hvad synes dine forældre om engelsk?

<b>Leyla</b>	Min mor er ikke særlig god til det, men min far kan godt tale det.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og dine søskende?
<b>Leyla</b>	Altså min bror bruger det nogle gange på arbejde, men min anden bror tror jeg ikke er så god til det.
<b>Interviewer</b>	(...)
<b>Leyla</b>	(...)
<b>Interviewer</b>	Føler du, det er en fordel eller en ulempe at være flersproget, når du lærer et nyt sprog i forhold til etskrogede?
<b>Leyla</b>	Det kan godt være sværere. Nogle gange kan jeg godt kludre i det når jeg prøver at tale et sprog. For eksempel, når jeg har tysk, så kan jeg godt tænke...nåhh ja har jo også dansk og engelsk. Og så har jeg også til tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Leyla</b>	Jeg tænker faktisk lidt, at det er en ulempe. Der er bare rigtig mange ting.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er du så mere glad for de sproglige eller matematiske fag i skolen?
<b>Leyla</b>	Sproglige.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Kan du godt lide at tale tyrkisk?
<b>Leyla</b>	Jeg kan godt lide at tale tyrkisk, men jeg vil helst tale dansk, fordi jeg bedre kan tale dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du som barn nogensinde oplevet, at det var pinligt at snakke dit modersmål et offentligt sted?
<b>Leyla</b>	Nej, det synes jeg ikke. Fordi, det er jo sådan vi er..så.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad kunne du godt tænke dig at læse til?
<b>Leyla</b>	Jeg kunne godt tænke mig at tage stx, sproglig linje, og derefter ved jeg ikke.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Nej? Så der er ikke noget bestemt du tænker på du kunne læse til efter?
<b>Leyla</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Forsøger dine forældre at opmuntre dig til at studere hårdt, eller i en bestemt retning eller er det noget du selv styrer?
<b>Leyla</b>	Nej, det er noget jeg selv styrer, de støtter mig uanset hvad.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvilket sprog tror du, tænker du på? F.eks. når du går for dig selv?
<b>Leyla</b>	Jeg tænker på dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Kunne du finde på at tænke på tyrkisk?
<b>Leyla</b>	Ja, men det nok mest på dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Tænker du nogensinde på tyrkisk i engelskundervisningen?
<b>Leyla</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Slet ikke? Der er ikke noget der får dig til at tænke på tyrkisk? Eller du slår ikke ord op i en tyrkisk ordbog.
<b>Leyla</b>	Jo! Det kunne jeg faktisk godt. Jeg slår ord op fra engelsk til tyrkisk, hvis jeg ikke forstår det danske, og hvis jeg stadig ikke forstår det, beder jeg min mor forklare mig det tyrkiske ord.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du oplevet i sprogundervisning, f.eks. i engelsk, fransk eller tysk, at du kunne udnytte dit tyrkiske?
<b>Leyla</b>	Øhmm...jeg forstod ikke rigtig spørgsmålet.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Altså har du oplevet at du kunne bruge dit tyrkiske i sprogundervisningen? Har det hjulpet dig nogle gange?
<b>Leyla</b>	Nåh... Ja, det har det. Nogle gange hvis jeg ikke forstår noget i engelsk, beder jeg min veninde om at forklare mig det på tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja, og det er i tysk og engelsk?

<b>Leyla</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er der andre ting, du synes jeg skulle vide om dit sprogbrug?
<b>Leyla</b>	Nej, det tror jeg ikke.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Fint, tak for hjælpen, Leyla.

## Section 9 – extract from interview with Arina

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
	(...)
	(...)
<b>Interviewer</b>	Føler du, det er en fordel eller en ulempe at være flersproget, når du lærer et nyt sprog i forhold til etskrogede?
<b>Arina</b>	Det er lidt svært, fordi jeg kan så mange sprog, så man kan godt blive lidt forvirret. Men hvis der for eksempel er et ord, jeg ikke forstår på dansk, kan jeg godt oversætte det fra tyrkisk til engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, men du synes det er lidt udfordrende at kunne mange sprog?
<b>Arina</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er du så mere glad for de sproglige eller matematiske fag i skolen?
<b>Arina</b>	Sproglige.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Kan du godt lide at tale tyrkisk?
<b>Arina</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Det kan du godt? Har du som barn nogensinde oplevet, at det var pinligt at snakke dit modersmål et offentligt sted? Eller har du været ligeglad?
<b>Arina</b>	Jeg har været ligeglad.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, det har ikke betydet noget?
<b>Arina</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad kunne du godt tænke dig at læse til?
<b>Arina</b>	Det ved jeg ikke?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er der nogen ting, du har tænkt på?
<b>Arina</b>	Ja, måske jura.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Forsøger dine forældre at opmuntre dig til at studere hårdt, eller i en bestemt retning eller er det noget du selv styrer?
<b>Arina</b>	Det er ikke noget de styrer, men de siger sådan..kunne du ikke tænke dig at være det her eller det her..
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad kunne det være?
<b>Arina</b>	F.eks. læge eller sådan noget.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, men de støtter dig og opmuntrer dig til at læse?
<b>Arina</b>	Ja, det gør de.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvilket sprog tror du, at du tænker du på? Vi har alle et sprog vi tænker på, når vi går for os selv.
<b>Arina</b>	Tror det er på dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Også hvis du f.eks. sidder på dit værelse for dig selv, og tænker over nogle ting?

<b>Arina</b>	Det kommer meget an på. F.eks. hvis jeg lige har set en tyrkisk serie, så tror jeg nok, at jeg tænker på tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Arina</b>	Men hvis jeg bare lige har været udenfor, hvor samfundet er dansk, så tænker jeg nok på dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, men hvis du har været sammen med familien hele dagen, og sidder for dig selv lidt efter, hvilket sprog tror du så du tænker på?
<b>Arina</b>	Tror det er 50/50.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvilket sprog tæller du på?
<b>Arina</b>	Dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Du ville aldrig tælle på tyrkisk?
<b>Arina</b>	Jo, måske, men det kommer nok an på sammenhæng.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad med f.eks. i matematik?
<b>Arina</b>	Det nok på dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Tænker du nogensinde på tyrkisk i engelskundervisningen?
<b>Arina</b>	Ja, det gør jeg.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvornår gør du det?
<b>Arina</b>	Igen, når der er noget jeg ikke forstår på dansk, så oversætter jeg fra tyrkisk. Eller hvis der er et ord, jeg kan på tyrkisk men ikke dansk, så kan jeg godt oversætte det fra tyrkisk til engelsk. Det har jeg gjort mange gange.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Gør du det? Hvad bruger du? Google Translate?
<b>Arina</b>	Ja, eller ordbog.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du prøvet at tænke på tyrkisk i andre sammenhænge. F.eks. hvis I har snakket om noget i klassen, og du har følt det har mindet om noget tyrkisk – f.eks. grammatik?
<b>Arina</b>	Ja, f.eks. hvis min veninde ikke lige kan forstå det på dansk, så forklarer jeg det på tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Føler du, at du er bedre til tyrkisk eller dansk?
<b>Arina</b>	Dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så du har oplevet i sprogundervisning, at du kan udnytte dit tyrkiske? F.eks. i tysk?
<b>Arina</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	På samme måde som i engelsk?
<b>Arina</b>	Ja, sådan noget.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, jamen det var det. Tak for hjælpen, Arina.

## Section 10 – extract from interview with Jamila

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
	(...)
	(...)
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad kunne du godt tænke dig at læse til?



<b>Jamila</b>	Jeg har to planer. Den ene er skuespiller I Tyrkiet, fordi her bliver der kun optaget 2-3 stykker om året. Rent faktisk så kender jeg slet ikke nogle danske skuespillere.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så du kunne godt tænke dig at tage til Tyrkiet og blive skuespiller?
<b>Jamila</b>	Ja, altså automatisk når du kommer fra Europa, så tænker de man er oplært her, så er de meget interesserede.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Jamila</b>	Og så kunne jeg også tænke mig at læse til politimand.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay? Det er to meget forskellige jobs, hva'?
<b>Jamila</b>	Ja, men jeg kan godt lide dem begge.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Forsøger dine forældre at opmuntre dig til at studere hårdt, eller i en bestemt retning eller er det noget du selv styrer?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Jamen, det er lidt ligesom med andre indvandrere. Læge, advokat osv.
<b>Jamila</b>	Okay? Er det de opmuntrer dig til?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Altså mine forældre siger, jeg skal læse, for at blive noget. Selvfølgelig er det noget jeg styrer. Men de siger, jeg skal blive god til engelsk og bruge det i mit fremtidige job. Min far er ret god til det. De kan godt lide det..
<b>Jamila</b>	Okay. Ja, der er altid godt at kunne engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja..
<b>Jamila</b>	Nu går vi lidt videre til noget andet. Hvilket sprog, tror du, at du tænker du på? Dvs. når du f.eks. er for dig selv, og tænker, hvilket sprog tror du så, det er?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Altså et, jeg gerne vil lære?
<b>Jamila</b>	Nej...
<b>Interviewer</b>	Nåhh, et jeg tænker, når jeg taler med mig selv?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja.
<b>Jamila</b>	Rent faktisk på tre forskellige sprog.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Jamila</b>	Nogle gange tænker jeg lidt på engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er det når du prøver at øve dit engelske?
<b>Jamila</b>	Ja, præcis, hvis jeg lige prøver at blive lidt bedre.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvilket sprog tæller du på?
<b>Jamila</b>	Tæller? På dansk og tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, og hvornår tæller du på hvad.
<b>Jamila</b>	Altså når jeg er her i Danmark, tæller jeg nok på dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, men hvilket sprog tror du, at du tænker på, det meste af tiden?
<b>Jamila</b>	Måske dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Tænker du nogensinde på tyrkisk i engelskundervisningen?
<b>Jamila</b>	Det har jeg helt sikkert gjort. Jeg har bare ikke nogle eksempler lige nu.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, hvis du f.eks. skal oversætte et ord, du ikke forstår på engelsk, kunne du så finde på at bruge tyrkisk ordbog?
<b>Jamila</b>	Ja, sagtens.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Kan du komme på andre tilfælde. F.eks. kunne du sammenligner engelske ord med tyrkiske ord, eller måske grammatik?
<b>Jamila</b>	Ja, måske
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du oplevet i sprogundervisning, at du kunne udnytte dit tyrkiske? F.eks. også i tysk?
<b>Jamila</b>	Ja, det ligesom i engelsk nogenlunde.

<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, jamen tak for hjælpen Jamila.
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## Section 11 – extract from interview with Ilias

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
<b>Interviewer</b>	(...)
	(...)
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvilket sprog tror du, at du tænker du på?
<b>Ilias</b>	Primært dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Også når du er hjemme, når du f.eks. er sammen med familien?
<b>Ilias</b>	Ja, det kommer an på hvem jeg er sammen med.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Men hvis du sidder for dig selv? Hvis du f.eks. sidder på dit værelse og spiller eller noget andet, hvilket sprog tror du så, at du vil tænke på?
<b>Ilias</b>	Så det dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvilket sprog tæller du på?
<b>Ilias</b>	Også på dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Du kunne ikke finde på at tælle på tyrkisk?
<b>Ilias</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Tænker du nogensinde på tyrkisk i engelskundervisningen? Nu er det selvfølgelig engelsk i skal lære, men kommer du til at tænke tyrkisk ind i mellem?
<b>Ilias</b>	Nej
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du oversætter f.eks. aldrig til og fra tyrkisk?
<b>Ilias</b>	Eller jo, nogle gange kan jeg bruge mit tyrkiske i engelsk, hvis der er engelske ord, der minder om tyrkiske ord.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Så du har oplevet i sprogundervisning, at du kunne udnytte dit tyrkiske? Hvad med. i tysk?
<b>Ilias</b>	Ja, i tysk føler jeg faktisk godt jeg kan bruge det. Der har f.eks. været nogle ord der minder om.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Ilias</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og føler du, at du bliver opmuntret til at bruge dit tyrkiske af jeres lærere, eller er det bare dig selv der bruger det?
<b>Ilias</b>	Det er bare mig selv, der gør det.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Fint, tak for hjælpen, Ilias.

## Section 12 – extract from interview with Ayub

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvordan var det at sidde med engelsktesten?
<b>Ayub</b>	Den var en smule svær, men ellers var det fint nok.

<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad synes du om engelsk generelt?
<b>Ayub</b>	Jeg synes det er...meget sådan flot sprog og jeg kan godt lide at tale det.s
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Ayub</b>	Og jeg synes også, det er et nemt sprog.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Kan du godt lide at se engelsk tv og læse på engelsk?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja. Jeg ser for det meste engelsk og hører for det meste engelsk musik?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ok. Foretrækker du engelsk frem for dansk og tyrkisk derhjemme?
<b>Ayub</b>	Nej, det gør jeg ikke.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ok. Hvad foretrækker du?
<b>Ayub</b>	Derhjemme taler vi mest...øhh tyrkisk og dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Tyrkisk og dansk?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad synes dine forældre om engelsk, ved du det? Kan de lide det eller...?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja, jeg ved det ikke helt. Det er fint nok.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad med dine søskende? Ved du om de kan lide engelsk?
<b>Ayub</b>	Min bror...han har det fint med engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Hvilke kanaler ser I derhjemme?
<b>Ayub</b>	Jeg ser for det meste MTV og TLC, men jeg ser også nogle gange danske kanaler.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad med da du var yngre, kan du huske hvilke kanaler dine forældre så mest?
<b>Ayub</b>	For det meste tyrkiske.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Tyrkiske? Så det er du opvokset med? Og det er måske derfor du også kan tyrkisk sådan ret godt?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ok. Ved du om dine forældre har en enten positiv holdning til amerikanere og englændere.
<b>Ayub</b>	Nej. For det meste...det eneste, de hører om er Amerika er politik
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og de forholder sig neutrale? Ikke hverken positive eller negative?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så skal jeg lige høre dig, hvordan du har det med at læse på engelsk?
<b>Ayub</b>	Det...jeg synes ikke, det er særligt svært.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Læser du tekster på engelsk, udover lektier?
<b>Ayub</b>	Mere sådan...nogle gange læser jeg artikler på Facebook på engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Og når du så har en tekst foran dig, enten i skolesammenhænge eller i fritiden, hvordan griber du den så an?
<b>Ayub</b>	Begynder med at læse den, og hvis jeg så ikke forstår noget af det, så prøver jeg at læse det igen.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Går du langsomt og grundigt igennem teksten og slår et hvert ukendt ord op eller prøver du at læse den hurtigt igennem?
<b>Ayub</b>	Prøver at læse den og hvis der så er et ord jeg ikke forstår, så prøver jeg at læse lidt videre, så kan jeg se, om jeg har forstået det.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så ud fra sammenhængen prøver du at forstå ordet?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så du stopper altså ikke op, og slår ord op?
<b>Ayub</b>	Nej.

<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad med at skrive på engelsk? Synes du, det er sværere at skrive, end at tale på engelsk?
<b>Ayub</b>	Nej. Jeg synes det sværeste ved at skrive, det er nok grammatikken.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Og når du så skriver på engelsk, hvordan gør du så? Lad os sige du skal skrive en engelsk stil – planlægger du inden eller undervejs, eller skriver du bare løs?
<b>Ayub</b>	Jeg prøver at planlægge lidt hvordan jeg skal starte og hvordan den skal slutte. Og så prøver jeg at finde indholdet undervejs.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så du går lidt og tænker, inden du begynder at skrive?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Bliver du så inspireret undervejs, eller har du planlagt det hele inden du starter?
<b>Ayub</b>	Noget af det er planlagt og noget af det bliver jeg inspireret af, før jeg skriver.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ændrer du så på noget når du er færdig? Går du tilbage og ændrer noget?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad synes du så om dansk?
<b>Ayub</b>	Altså sproget?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Ayub</b>	Det er ikke særligt svært, men det er nok fordi, jeg har hørt dansk siden jeg var lille. Men ellers...jeg synes ikke det er særligt svært.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ok. Læser du på dansk, udover skolearbejde?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er det ligesom på engelsk hvor du læser artikler og...?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Griber du det anderledes an at skrive på dansk i forhold til på engelsk?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja det gør jeg. På dansk der plejer jeg at lave...nogle gange laver jeg en brainstorm før jeg skriver, hvis jeg nu f.eks. skal skrive en novelle. Mht. engelsk, der plejer jeg at blive inspireret undervejs.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så der har det vil sige, du ved præcist hvad du vil skrive i dansk inden du skriver og engelsk der kommer ideerne løbende?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Nu kommer vi lidt ind på hvilke sprog du foretrækker at tale. Foretrækker du at snakke dansk eller tyrkisk med dine venner, som kan tyrkisk ligesom dig?
<b>Ayub</b>	For det meste snakker jeg dansk, men der er også noget tyrkisk ind i mellem
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Blander du det lidt?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så når du hænger ud med dine venner som kan tyrkisk, snakker I dansk med enkelte tyrkiske ord ind imellem?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Også med din bror?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Føler du, det er en fordel eller ulempe at være tosproget?
<b>Ayub</b>	Det er nok fordel, så kan jeg kommunikere med flere mennesker.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad med i forhold til det med at lære nye sprog, f.eks i engelsk og tysk osv., er det så en fordel at være tosproget eller bliver man forvirret når man allerede har et ekstra sprog i forvejen?
<b>Ayub</b>	Jeg synes ikke...jeg tror ikke, der er særlig stor forskel.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Nej? Så du tror hverken det er en fordel eller ulempe...?

<b>Ayub</b>	Ja, det er der ikke.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så det er det samme?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er du mest glad for de sproglige eller matematiske fag i skolen?
<b>Ayub</b>	Jeg er meget glad for matematik og engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så du er både til matematiske og sproglige fag?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Kan du godt lide at tale tyrkisk?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du nogensinde som barn oplevet, at det har været pinligt at snakke tyrkisk et offentligt sted?
<b>Ayub</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og du har haft det fint med det?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Du har ikke været flov over det eller noget?
<b>Ayub</b>	Nej
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad kunne du godt tænke dig at læse til?
<b>Ayub</b>	Jeg ved ikke helt, hvad jeg skal læse til, men jeg ved, det skal være en gymnasial uddannelse.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Men du ved ikke helt specifikt, hvad du vil være efterfølgende?
<b>Ayub</b>	Nej, det ved jeg ikke.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Forsøger dine forældre at opmuntre dig til at studere hårdt eller i en bestemt retning eller lader de dig bare selv styre det?
<b>Ayub</b>	Jeg bliver støttet af mine forældre, men det er ellers mig selv der klarer det meste.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Siger de til dig ”nu skal du lige lave lektier osv.”?
<b>Ayub</b>	Jeg plejer at selv at lave lektier, men når hvis jeg f.eks. ikke laver lektier bliver jeg lige mindet om jeg skal lave mine lektier.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Det næste er måske et lidt mærkeligt spørgsmål, men hvilket sprog tænker du på?
<b>Ayub</b>	Både dansk og tyrkisk
<b>Interviewer</b>	Dansk og tyrkisk? Okay. Kommer det lidt an på hvor du er og hvad du laver?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er det så sådan, at du måske tænker på dansk nu, fordi vi snakker på dansk, men vil tænke på tyrkisk derhjemme?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvilket sprog tæller du så på?
<b>Ayub</b>	Øhhh?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Lad os sige du lige skal tælle i hovedet, hvor meget du skylder en ven, hvilket sprog vil du så tælle på?
<b>Ayub</b>	Så vil jeg nok tælle på....øhh tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så der føler du måske, at du kan tælle lidt hurtigere?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Og når du har engelskundervisning, tænker du så nogensinde på tyrkisk?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ikke når jeg har engelsk

<b>Interviewer</b>	Ikke når du har engelsk? Har du nogensinde i engelskundervisningen tænkt ”nåhh, det er ligesom det der tyrkisk ord, eller ahh det minder om tyrkisk på den og den måde” uden måske at sige det højt?
<b>Ayub</b>	Jeg tror ikke i engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Tror du ikke det? Har du så tysk?
<b>Ayub</b>	Nej, jeg har fransk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du så i franskundervisning tænkt på tyrkisk?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Det har du?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, men ikke i engelsk?
<b>Ayub</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har jeres lærer nogensinde prøvet at få jer til at tænke i retningen af ”hvad hedder det og det på tyrkisk eller på nogle andres modersmål?”?
<b>Ayub</b>	Nej, det har han ikke.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du i nogen situationer oplevet, at du kunne udnytte dit tyrkiske? Altså i sprogundervisning? Eller har du, følt du ikke har måtte bruge det, men kun dansk og engelsk?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja..øhh det er ikke fordi, jeg har følt, at det var specielt tilladt at bruge mit tyrkiske i engelsk, men det er okay, fordi jeg har ikke brug for mit tyrkiske i engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så du har ikke oplevet tilfælde hvor du har kunne bruge det?
	Der har f.eks. været på et tidspunkt hvor vi så en tyrkisk dokumentar, der kunne jeg nok bruge det lidt.
	Ja? En tyrkisk dokumentar?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	I hvilket fag var det?
<b>Ayub</b>	Jeg tror, det var i dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	I danskundervisningen? Der kunne du så bruge det [dit tyrkiske]?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Men vil det så sige, at hver gang du har engelsk, lukker du dit tyrkiske fuldstændig ude?
<b>Ayub</b>	Jeg lukker det ikke ude, men jeg tror ikke, der er nogle tidspunkter, hvor man får brug for det.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Heller ikke når I snakker grammatik eller noget andet?
<b>Ayub</b>	Nej
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Jamen jeg tror det var det. Mange tak for din hjælp
<b>Ayub</b>	Det var så lidt

### Section 13 – extract from interview with Malik

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
Interviewer	(...)
	(...)
Interviewer	Hvilket sprog tror du, at du tænker du på? Dvs. hvis du nu sidder for dig selv, og tænker på noget, hvilket sprog tror du så det er på?
Malik	På dansk.
Interviewer	Kun på dansk?
Malik	Ja.
Interviewer	Og hvilket sprog tæller du på?
Malik	På dansk.
Interviewer	Ja? Har du lettere ved at tælle på dansk?
Malik	Ja, helt klart. Men i Tyrkiet ville jeg tælle på tyrkisk.
Interviewer	Okay, så det afhænger lidt af hvor du er?
Malik	Ja.
Interviewer	Tænker du nogensinde på tyrkisk i engelskundervisningen?
Malik	Øhh?
Interviewer	F.eks. har du tænkt at der var nogle ord eller regler, der mindede dig om noget på tyrkisk?
Malik	Ikke sådan rigtigt.
Interviewer	Har du oplevet i sprogundervisning at du kunne udnytte dit tyrkiske? Du har tysk ikke?
Malik	Ja, det har jeg
Interviewer	Har du oplevet, at du kunne bruge dit tyrkiske i tysk?
Malik	Altså...jeg tænker ikke så meget på tyrkisk når jeg har tysk.
Interviewer	Det har du ikke? Der har ikke været tidspunkter, hvor der har været nogle ord, eller grammatiske regler, der har mindet dig om noget på tyrkisk?
Malik	Nej.
Interviewer	Fint. Tak for hjælpen, Malik.

### Section 14 – extract from interview on Turkish test with Malik

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
Interviewer	Hvordan var det at sidde med tyrkisk testen, Malik?
Malik	Det var lidt svært synes jeg, fordi der var mange svære ord, og så skulle jeg også oversætte det til dansk, for at kunne forstå det.
Interviewer	Hvordan mener du oversætte det? Kan du uddybe?
Malik	Fordi, hvis jeg læser tyrkisk, skal jeg også prøve at forstå det på dansk. Der gør det lidt sværere.
Interviewer	Okay, så når du læser noget på tyrkisk, er du altid nødt til at oversætte det til dansk for at kunne forstå det?

<b>Malik</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Også når du ser tyrkisk tv? Oversætter du det så i dit hoved mens du ser det?
<b>Malik</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og hvilken del af testen var sværest?
<b>Malik</b>	Helt klart den sidste.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad var det der var svært ved den?
<b>Malik</b>	Det var spørgsmålene, de var bare svære at svare på.



## Appendix I – Transcriptions of short reading comprehension assessments in English (The Great Gatsby)

### Example 1: Jasmina

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
Interviewer	Nu hvor du har læst teksten, kan du så fortælle mig hvad det kan handler om?
Jasmina	Okay, den er rigtig svær. Men der står i hvert fald noget om en krig.
Interviewer	Ja?
Jasmina	Og så står der, det er noget med, at han har en drøm.
Interviewer	Ja?
Jasmina	Og så siger den noget med billeder af virkelighed? Jeg ved det ikke. Ja, jeg kunne ikke forstå mere, for der var mange svære ord.
Interviewer	Okay. Da du læste den, hvor var det du stoppede? Hvor syntes du den blev svær? Hvilket ord var det første du ville have slået op? Eller ville du have slået noget op?
Jasmina	Ja, det her ord.
Interviewer	Brilliantly? Det ville du have slået op?
Jasmina	Ja. Og captures og disillusion. Øhmm ja og failure og obsessed.
Interviewer	Ja?
Jasmina	Og wealth, render og essence og particular.
Interviewer	Ja?
Jasmina	Øhh og chronicling og pursuit.
Interviewer	Ja?
Jasmina	Og re-creates
Interviewer	Ja?
Jasmina	Og så forstår jeg resten.
Interviewer	Okay. Hvis vi antog, du kom op i den her tekst til eksamen, hvad ville du så gøre. Så ville du slå ordene op?
Jasmina	Ja.
Interviewer	Hvad ville du så gøre hvis du ikke forstod den danske betydning i ordbogen?
Jasmina	Først ville jeg slå det op flere steder. Og se om jeg kunne finde en anden forklaring, men hvis jeg så slet ikke kunne forstå det, ville jeg slå det op på tyrkisk. Ellers ville det være på dansk.
Interviewer	Ja?
Jasmina	Men jeg ville slå det op flere steder.
Interviewer	Okay. Har du brugt en tyrkisk ordbog for nyligt i klassen?
Jasmina	Nej, det er lidt tid siden.
Interviewer	Okay. Mange tak, Jasmina. Jeg vil lige fortælle, at grunden til jeg spørger om du burger dit tyrkiske, er at nogle gange kan det måske hjælpe dig hvis der er noget du ikke forstår. Så kan det måske være en hjælp at trække på det tyrkiske.
Jasmina	Okay?
Interviewer	Så det er derfor jeg spørger om det.
Jasmina	Ja, men nogle gange kan jeg godt se nogle ord, der minder om tyrkisk. Men ikke alle.

<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Og det kan måske hjælpe dig med forståelsen?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Godt. Jamen, mange tak Jasmina.
<b>Jasmina</b>	Selv tak.

## Example 2: Leyla

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er du klar?
<b>Leyla</b>	Øhmmm Rawand, jeg forstod ikke særlig meget af den her.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Nej?
<b>Leyla</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvor stoppede du op? Hvor blev den svær?
<b>Leyla</b>	Altså f.eks. allerede ved første linje. Dér.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ved brilliantly?
<b>Leyla</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvis du vidste hvad det ord betød, kunne du så afkode sætningen?
<b>Leyla</b>	Ja, måske.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvor ville du ellers stoppe op?
<b>Leyla</b>	Allerede ved det næste ord.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Ved captures?
<b>Leyla</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og hvor ellers
<b>Leyla</b>	Disillusion og failure.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Leyla</b>	Og det her ord med w.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Wealth?
<b>Leyla</b>	Og det her..render.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Leyla</b>	Og essence og particular og det her.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Chronicling?
<b>Leyla</b>	Ja. Og det her.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja, pursuit?
<b>Leyla</b>	Ja. Og re-creates.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad ville du gøre hvis det her var en tekst til en eksamen?
<b>Leyla</b>	Jeg ville tag ordbogen, jeg ville ikke slå alle ord op, for det har jeg ikke tid til, men hvis det er et ord der forstyrrer betydningen ville jeg slå det op.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og i det her tilfælde, ville du slå alle de ord op, du lige nævnte?
<b>Leyla</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ville du kun slå dem op på dansk? Og hvad ville du gøre hvis der var et ord du ikke forstod, når du oversatte det til dansk?
<b>Leyla</b>	Hvis jeg var hjemme, ville jeg slå det op på tyrkisk og bede min mor om at forklare hvad det betød.

<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad med til eksamen?
<b>Leyla</b>	Jeg ville stadig prøve at slå det op på tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du prøvet at slå noget op på tyrkisk for nyligt?
<b>Leyla</b>	Ikke lige noget for nyligt.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Men du har gjort det før?
<b>Leyla</b>	Ja, det har jeg prøvet.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og det var fordi du ikke forstod det danske?
<b>Leyla</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Det var det. Mange tak, Leyla

### Example 3: Arina

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er du klar til at fortælle hvad den handler om?
<b>Arina</b>	Ja...øhmhhh handler den ikke om ham Fitzgerald? Ja, øhmhhh han...?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvor blev teksten svær?
<b>Arina</b>	Det er alle de her ord. F.eks. disillusion, jeg ved ikke hvad det er.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ville du slå det op på tyrkisk, hvis du ikke forstod den danske oversættelse?
<b>Arina</b>	Ja, det ville jeg.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, hvis vi prøver at gå videre med teksten.
<b>Arina</b>	Ja.. altså så er det noget med post og krig [griner]. Altså han får post?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Hvilke ord er ellers svære?
<b>Arina</b>	Og så kommer der det der failure.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Arina</b>	Og det der ord... render. Og chronicling. Jeg ved ikke det er en svær tekst. Der er mange svære ord.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, og vil du altid starte med at oversætte det til dansk?
<b>Arina</b>	Ja, fordi jeg er jo også født her...så.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Men i tilfælde af du ikke forstår det, slå du det op på tyrkisk?
<b>Arina</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du brugt tyrkisk ordbog i engelsktimerne for nyligt.
<b>Arina</b>	Ja, ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så det gør du ofte?
<b>Arina</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Det var det. Tak for hjælpen.

### Example 4: Jamila

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er du klar?
<b>Jamila</b>	Ja. Altså det eneste, som jeg nogenlunde forstår er, at forfatteren.

<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvem er forfatteren?
<b>Jamila</b>	Fitzgerald.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Jamila</b>	Han vil gerne...øhmm genskabe, tror jeg, den universelle konflikt imellem illusion og virkelighed.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Jamila</b>	Og så er der noget med amerikansk krig eller sådan noget. Jeg forstår det ikke helt.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja.
<b>Jamila</b>	Og så noget med status.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvilke ord var svære og forstyrrede betydningen og gjorde du gik i stå?
<b>Jamila</b>	Disillusion. Jeg går ud fra det betyder det omvendte af illusion.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ville du slå det op?
<b>Jamila</b>	Ja, disillusion, bare for at få forklaringen.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og ville du kun slå det op på dansk?
<b>Jamila</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ikke på tyrkisk?
<b>Jamila</b>	Nej, fordi jeg vil altid kunne forstå det danske.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Jamila</b>	Men hvis det ikke giver nogen mening på dansk, så kunne jeg godt slå det op på tyrkisk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Som sidste udvej?
<b>Jamila</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er der ellers andre svære ord?
<b>Jamila</b>	Ja, render.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Jamila</b>	Og så er der particular. Det må være ligesom en atom partikel. Du ved?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Kan du ellers fortælle noget om handlingen.
<b>Jamila</b>	Øhmm nej, det tror jeg ikke.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Hvis du fik denne tekst til eksamen, hvad ville du så gøre?
<b>Jamila</b>	Jeg ville slå ordene, jeg ikke forstår op. Og ja..så bare tag det derfra.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Fint. Tak for hjælpen.

### Example 5: Malik

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
<b>Interviewer</b>	Kan du fortælle hvad den handler om?
<b>Malik</b>	Ja. Øhmm The Great Gatsby, som han er i konflikt med verden. Så om illusion og reality. Ja, det er hvad jeg forstår.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Kan du prøve at fortælle, hvordan du prøver at oversætte den? Oversætter du det f.eks. til dansk i dit hoved?
<b>Malik</b>	Nej, ikke rigtig. Jeg prøver bare at forså ordene. Ja, så finder jeg ordene og ja, så omformulerer jeg det til dansk.

<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, så du oversætter det til dansk I hovedet?
<b>Malik</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Så du skal lige have det vendt på dansk I hovedet, for at kunne forstå det.
<b>Malik</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad med tyrkisk?
<b>Malik</b>	Slet ikke.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Nej?
<b>Malik</b>	Ikke I de her sammenhænge.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og heller ikke hvis oversættelsen til dansk er svær at forstå?
<b>Malik</b>	Nej slet ikke.
<b>Interviewer</b>	På ingen måder?
<b>Malik</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er der andet du kan fortælle om teksten?
<b>Malik</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Mange tak, Malik

### Example 6: Serhat

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er du klar?
<b>Serhat</b>	Ja. Jeg tror det handler om en mand, der ikke helt ser virkeligheden. Han har en krig med sig selv. Ja det er hvad jeg forstår.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Var der nogle svære ord der forstyrrede dig?
<b>Serhat</b>	Ja, disillusion.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Hvad ellers?
<b>Serhat</b>	Det der ord.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Chronicling?
<b>Serhat</b>	Ja. De to ord.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, og hvad vil du så gøre med dem?
<b>Serhat</b>	Slå dem op på ordbogen.dk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Da du læste teksten, oversatte du den så til dansk I dit hoved eller hvad gjorde du?
<b>Serhat</b>	Ja, jeg læste den og så oversatte jeg den til dansk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay? Er det så nå sætningerne er svære, at du bliver nødt til at oversætte dem, for at kunne forstå dem.
<b>Serhat</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og du vil ikke slå noget op på tyrkisk, hvis du ikke forstår den danske oversættelse?
<b>Serhat</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Slet ikke?
<b>Serhat</b>	Nej, aldrig.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, tak for din hjælp Serhat, det var det hele.

### Example 7: Ilias

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
Interviewer	Kan du fortælle mig hvad teksten handler om?
Ilias	Altså sådan som jeg forstår det, så handler bogen om ham Fitzgerald, der prøver at genskabe illusionen af realiteten.
Interviewer	Ja? Hvad handler den ellers om? Og hvilken tid tror du der er tale om?
Ilias	Det er nok længe tilbage, i USA, da der var slaver og sådan noget.
Interviewer	Er der ellers andet du kan fortælle?
Ilias	Nej, ikke rigtig, det nok det vigtigste.
Interviewer	Og hvordan greb du teksten an? Oversatte du f.eks. til dansk i hovedet?
Ilias	Ikke rigtig, jeg prøver bare at forstå den på engelsk.
Interviewer	Okay, var der nogle svære ord, du ville slå op?
Ilias	Ja, chronicling.
Interviewer	Og ellers ikke?
Ilias	Nej.
Interviewer	Kunne du finde på at oversætte til tyrkisk, hvis du ikke forstår det på dansk?
Ilias	Nej.
Interviewer	Okay, tak for hjælpen, Ilias.

### Example 8: Furkan

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
Interviewer	Du starter bare når du er klar. Og du sagde du havde set filmen? Men prøv at forklar hvad teksten her handler om.
Furkan	Altså det handler om, at der ligesom er en skilning i hans hoved imellem to verdener. Der er f.eks. en, ligesom han siger, at han gerne vil leve alene med sin kone, ude et sted hvor de er alene. Og på den anden side, så lever de i en tid, hvor det er industrisamfundet der dominerer. Og Gatsby har derfor også meget på spil.
Interviewer	Okay. Kan du fortælle andet?
Furkan	Som sagt skelner den imellem to verdener, det er i hvert fald vigtigt for betydningen.
Interviewer	Okay. Var der svære ord?
Furkan	Ja. Disillusion og essence.
Interviewer	Er det nogle du har behov for at slå op?
Furkan	Nej, fordi jeg forstår godt betydningen. Altså jeg slår kun ord op, hvis jeg ikke forstår sammenhængen.
Interviewer	Havde du kunne forstå ligeså meget, hvis du ikke havde set filmen.
Furkan	Nej, så er der en del, der ikke vil give mening.
Interviewer	Okay?
Furkan	Men jeg havde fanget, at den skelner imellem to verdener.
Interviewer	Når du har en svær tekst, oversætter du den så til dansk i dit hoved?
Furkan	Ja, typisk oversætter jeg til dansk, for bedre at kunne forstå det.

<b>Interviewer</b>	Og hvad med tyrkisk?
<b>Furkan</b>	Nej, det vil jeg ikke bruge.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Det var det. Tak for din hjælp.

### Example 9: Ayub

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
<b>Interviewer</b>	Du starter bare når du er klar.
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja, altså jeg tror ikke jeg kan....øhhh.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er der mange svære ord?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja. Ord som f.eks. chronicling. Det påvirker forståelsen.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Chronicling?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja, det ville jeg normalt slå op.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ville du slå andre ord op?
<b>Ayub</b>	Ja, essence.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ellers andre?
<b>Ayub</b>	Nej. Jeg ved i hvert fald, at det handler om noget med efterkrig i Amerika.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja?
<b>Ayub</b>	Men ja, den er ret svært, teksten.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja? Kan du prøve at fortælle mig hvad du gør, når du læser den? Hvordan prøver du at forstå den?
<b>Ayub</b>	Jeg prøver bare at læse den, og se om den giver mening.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Oversætter du til dansk?
<b>Ayub</b>	Nej, jeg læser bare på engelsk?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Bruger du dit tyrkiske? Eller kunne du finde op at bruge tyrkisk ordbog?
<b>Ayub</b>	Nej, det gør jeg ikke. Det kunne jeg ikke.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad er det ved teksten, der er svær?
<b>Ayub</b>	Det er bare sætningerne.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Og ikke ordene?
<b>Ayub</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvis nu du trak denne tekst til en eksamen, hvad ville du så gøre?
<b>Ayub</b>	Jeg ville prøve at kigge på den ord jeg forstår, og prøve at danne en mening ud fra dem.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Er der andet du kan fortælle?
<b>Ayub</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Fint. Tak for din hjælp.
<b>Ayub</b>	Det var så lidt

## Example 10: Danyal

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
Interviewer	Kan du fortælle mig hvad teksten handler om?
Danyal	På engelsk eller dansk?
Interviewer	Det fint på dansk.
Danyal	Den handler om ham her Fitzgerald, der har skrevet den her, Great Gatsby, som både fanger det illusionære billede af efterkrigstid i Amerika, hvor de store figurere bare er fokuseret på penge og status foran det politiske og større figur. Og det handler bare om, at ham her Fitzgerald, han genskriver den universelle verden imellem illusion og virkelighed.
Interviewer	Ja? Synes du det var en let eller svær tekst? Eller hvad synes du om den?
Danyal	Den har lidt svære ord, men jeg kunne godt forstå dem. F.eks. render the essence of a particular time and place. Det er sådan lidt...Fange det præcise og så beskrive det.
Interviewer	Ja. Var der nogle ord, du ville have slået op, hvis du f.eks. skulle forklare teksten til en eksamen?
Danyal	Chronicling.
Interviewer	Hvad gjorde du så nu? Gættede du betydningen ud fra sammenhængen?
Danyal	Jeg ved at cronic kommer fra det græske ord kronos, som er tid. Så det er tidsmæssigt.
Interviewer	Okay. Er der ellers andre ord, du synes, var svære, eller du skulle tænke over?
Danyal	Nej.
Interviewer	Når du så læser teksten, hvad tænker du så om opbygningen? Var den lidt svær eller?
Danyal	En smule.
Interviewer	Hvad gjorde, da du læste teksten? Oversatte det til dansk eller læste du den bare på engelsk?
Danyal	Jeg læste den bare på engelsk.
Interviewer	Prøvede du så at oversætte chronicling til dansk?
Danyal	Nej, til græsk.
Interviewer	Tænkte du så på tyrkisk på noget tidspunkt?
Danyal	Ikke sprogmæssigt, men altså "the moral failure of a society obsessed with wealth and status", det er sådan pretty much den tyrkiske status i Tyrkiet. Så det tænkte jeg.
Interviewer	Det tænkte du lige?
Danyal	Ja.
Interviewer	Så kun indholdsmæssigt, tænkte du på tyrkisk? Ville du normalt bruge en tyrkisk ordbog?
Danyal	Nej, hvis jeg ved hvad et ord betyder på engelsk og dansk, men ikke kender det på tyrkisk, så kan jeg godt finde på at bruge engelsk-tyrkisk ordbog.
Interviewer	Okay?
Danyal	Jeg skulle spørge min mor, vi havde sådan en kniv med dull blade, og så skulle jeg spørge min mor hvad vi skulle gøre med den, men så kunne jeg ikke finde ordet. Så slog jeg der bare op på tyrkisk og fandt det.
Interviewer	Bruger du ellers tyrkisk ordbog i skolen?



<b>Danyal</b>	Ikke umiddelbart, men jeg kan godt oversætte det fra tyrkisk til engelsk i mit hoved.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay. Var der ellers mere omkring teksten?
<b>Danyal</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Fint, tak for hjælpen, Danyal.

### Example 11: Ayaz

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
<b>Interviewer</b>	Kan du fortælle hvad teksten handler om?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Der er nogle ord, der driller i forhold til sammenhængen.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad kunne det være?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Dissillusion og chronicling
<b>Interviewer</b>	Er det de eneste.
<b>Ayaz</b>	Ja, men de påvirker betydningen af hele teksten
<b>Interviewer</b>	Synes du, teksten er svær?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Ja, det er den.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad er det, der er svært ved den?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Måden det står på.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ja, er det opbygningen af sætningerne?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad ville du gøre, hvis du skulle forklare hvad den handlede om til en eksamen? Og oversatte du den til dansk i dit hoved eller?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Jeg ville slå ord op. Nej, nu læste jeg og prøvede bare at forstå den på engelsk.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ok. Og ville du kun slå op på dansk?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Ja.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Hvad med på tyrkisk?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Det kunne jeg også.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Har du gjort det for nyligt i engelskundervisningen?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Tænkte du på noget tidspunkt på tyrkisk, nu hvor du læste teksten?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Nej, det gjorde jeg ikke.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Ok, er der andet du kunne sige om teksten?
<b>Ayaz</b>	Nej.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, tak for din hjælp, Ayaz.

## Example 12: Baris

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
Interviewer	Du starter bare, når du er klar.
Baris	Det handler om noget, der skete for lang tid siden.
Interviewer	Ja?
Baris	Altså, af hvad jeg har forstået, at man skal vinde noget, som Amerika har været med i. Det er en slags borgerkrig af en art eller oprør, og man forventer at Amerika vil vinde. Jeg ved det slet ikke. Det er hvad jeg har forstået.
Interviewer	Kan du fortælle hvordan du greb teksten an? Oversatte du den f.eks. til dansk?
Baris	Nej prøver bare at forstå de engelske ord, jeg oversætter ikke. Med mindre der noget jeg slet ikke forstår.
Interviewer	Hvad med tyrkisk, brugte du det?
Baris	Nej, jeg brugte ikke tyrkisk.
Interviewer	Så hvis du støder på en svær sætning, prøver du så at oversætte den til dansk? Eller tyrkisk
Baris	Ja, til dansk.
Interviewer	Kan du ellers sige noget om teksten?
Baris	Øhh ikke rigtig. Den var ikke nem.
Interviewer	Nej, det var den ikke. Men rigtig fint. Tak for din hjælp, Baris.
Baris	Selv tak.

## Appendix J – Transcriptions of communicative competence assessments (short speaking sessions in English)

### Section 1 – Jasmina

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
Interviewer	Can you tell me, what is your favorite movie?
Jasmina	My favorite movie are... øhh jeg ved ikke helt... My favorite movie are Twillight. Because..øhh Twillight have action and have a vampire and a wolf. Ja, a good movie.
Interviewer	Do you like movies with vampires and wolfs?
Jasmina	Yeah.
Interviewer	Is there a storyline? Can you tell me what it is about?
Jasmina	Hvad?
Interviewer	We have vampires and wolfs, right?
Jasmina	Yeah.
Interviewer	But what happens in the film?
Jasmina	Spørger du om historien?
Interviewer	Yes.
Jasmina	Skal jeg forklare den?
Interviewer	Yes, can you try?
Jasmina	Ehmm Twillight have a ehmm a vampire ehmm and a normal girl. And the vampire and the girl had a [thinking] love. And the normal... girl can nej like a vampire...
Interviewer	Okay, so it is a love story?
Jasmina	Yeah?
Interviewer	And do they end up together? The vampire and the girl?
Jasmina	Hvad?
Interviewer	Do they end up together?
Jasmina	Jeg ved ikke, hvad du mener?
Interviewer	The boy and the girl, do they end up as a couple?
Jasmina	Ehhh?
Interviewer	Do you know what a couple is?
Jasmina	No [laughs].
Interviewer	Et par.
Jasmina	Ehh?
Interviewer	Do they end up as a couple?
Jasmina	Om de ender op sammen?
Interviewer	Yes?
Jasmina	Yes.
Interviewer	Okay, do you have a favorite series?
Jasmina	Yes I have a Turkish movie
Interviewer	Turkisk series?
Jasmina	Yes.
Interviewer	What is it called?

<b>Jasmina</b>	Skal jeg sige hvad den hedder?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Yes
<b>Jasmina</b>	The movie called..ehh nej the series called Ezel.
<b>Interviewer</b>	And when you don't have homework, what do you then like to do in your spare time?
<b>Jasmina</b>	Hvad jeg laver i min fritid?
<b>Interviewer</b>	Yes.
<b>Jasmina</b>	I like.. at være sammen med my friends because we talk and are going to the park.
<b>Interviewer</b>	What would you like to talk about?
<b>Jasmina</b>	I like a talk about ehheh jeg ved det faktisk ikke [laughs].
<b>Interviewer</b>	Alright , that's fine, thank you very much Jasmina.

## Section 2 – Leyla

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
<b>Interviewer</b>	I would like to ask you, what is your favorite movie?
<b>Leyla</b>	My favorite movie is Turkish movie. There call it "İncir Reçeli"
<b>Interviewer</b>	And what does that mean in English?
<b>Leyla</b>	Ehmm I don't know..det noget med marmelade.
<b>Interviewer</b>	And what is it about?
<b>Leyla</b>	It's about a man there are writer and single, but he found girl he likes. But the girl has cancer. So when the girl die and the man cry and..yeah..
<b>Interviewer</b>	He gets sad?
<b>Leyla</b>	Yes.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Do you have a favorite series?
<b>Leyla</b>	Yes. My favorite series is Catfish. English series.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Yes? And what is it about?
<b>Leyla</b>	It's about two boys they catfisher for example people they chat on Facebook..and..ehh..jeg ved ikke hvordan jeg skal forklare det.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Yes. They catch people, or?
<b>Leyla</b>	Yeah. Jeg ved ikke, hvordan man siger det på engelsk, men det ikke altid den rigtige person.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Yes? Okay. Do you watch other series?
<b>Leyla</b>	I watch also "Big Brother", but on the Turkish "Big Brother", so yeah I see also "Big Brother".
<b>Interviewer</b>	What do you like to do in your spare time when you don't have homework?
<b>Leyla</b>	Ehmm I like to be sådan parties with my friends but also make cup coffe and drinks with my friend.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Oh you drink coffee?
<b>Leyla</b>	Yes [laughs].
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, so you like to go to coffee shops and drink coffee with your friends?
<b>Leyla</b>	Yes.
<b>Interviewer</b>	Great. Thank you Leyla.

### Section 3 – Arina

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
Interviewer	What's your favorite movie?
Arina	I have not a favorite movie.
Interviewer	Okay, which genre do you then like?
Arina	I like all.
Interviewer	Do you have a favorite series?
Arina	Yes a Turkish.
Interviewer	What is it called?
Arina	Güneşi Beklerken
Interviewer	Is it new or an old one?
Arina	It's new.
Interviewer	Can you tell me what it is about?
Arina	It's about a business man and a woman.. ehmm the woman worked as a gason in a restaurant..ehmm jeg ved ikke hvad det hedder.
Interviewer	Garson, what is that?
Arina	Øhmm jeg ved ikke.. dem der der spørger, hvad vil du have.
Interviewer	En tjener?
Arina	Ja.
Interviewer	Ahh og det var på tyrkisk, du sagde det ord?
Arina	Ja.
Interviewer	Okay. Like a waiter?
Arina	Yes.
Interviewer	Okay?
Arina	And so the man had a yenge.
Interviewer	Yes? And aunt?
Arina	Yes, a aunt. And the aunt he has a...ejj den er rigtig inviklet. Jeg ved ikke hvordan jeg skal fortælle det.
Interviewer	Yes? Just try.
Arina	And he has a grandfather...ehmm and the grandfather is really rich and he has a house. And the grandfather told the aunt if you could marry the man ehh the business woman. He will be..ehhmm yeah
Interviewer	Rich?
Arina	Ehmm no had ehmm no buy a house to you.
Interviewer	Yes?
Arina	Ehmm so the aunt trying to make love with the girl and the boy.
Interviewer	Make them fall in love?
Arina	Yes. So they fall in love, but the girl say the aunt say to me, so it is a problem.
Interviewer	And how often do you see this series?
Arina	Every friday.
Interviewer	All right great. What do you like to do in your spare time?
Arina	I like to see films.
Interviewer	No specific?
Arina	No.
Interviewer	Great thank you very much Arina.

## Section 4 – Jamila

ID	SPOKEN WORDS
Interviewer	What's your favorite movie?
Jamila	I don't have a favorite movie. I watch a lot of stuff.
Interviewer	What kind of movies do you like?
Jamila	Science fiction.
Interviewer	Yes?
Interviewer	And action.
Interviewer	Okay. Can you mention a couple of action or science fiction movies you like?
Jamila	"Need for Speed", "The Hundred".
Interviewer	"Need for Speed", what is that about?
Jamila	It's about a people that are racing with their cars and yeah ..for money.
Interviewer	So they gamble?
Jamila	Yes.
Interviewer	And do you like speed?
Jamila	Yes.
Interviewer	So you think you would drive really fast when you get your drivers license?
Jamila	Yes.
Interviewer	And maybe participate in races?
Jamila	No, because I want to be a policeman.
Interviewer	Oh yeah. So do you have a favorite series?
Jamila	Series? Is that serie [the Danish word serie]?
Interviewer	Yes.
Jamila	I like "Pretty Little Liars" and "The Hundred", it's a serie and not a movie.
Interviewer	"Pretty Little Liars", what is that about?
Jamila	It's about...ehh.. there is a lot of drama inside..ehh.. it's about four girls, ehhe de bliver ehk hvordan siger man "bliver"?
Interviewer	Become?
Jamila	They become message from people there is anonym.
Interviewer	Ohh they get messages..?
Jamila	Yes, get. From a girl or boy we don't know. Every sæson [in Danish] ehk.. and the end of the sæson there is always a new "A" in the movie, but the next sæson another "A", not the other.
Interviewer	Okay, and have you seen the end?
Jamila	Yeah, but there is a new sæson.
Interviewer	Ahh ok. And what do you like to do in your spare time?
Jamila	Fritid, ikke?
Interviewer	Yes.
Jamila	Ehk play football. I like to play football and watch football. It's me. There is not girls from my class that likes to go out and play, they like to do new makeup.

<b>Interviewer</b>	And what is your favorite think to do?
<b>Jamila</b>	Visit US
<b>Interviewer</b>	Okay, great thank you Jamila.